

THE
PHILIPPINE
ISLANDS

BLAIR
and
ROBERTSON

XLI
1691-1700



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THE PHILIPPINE ISLANDS

1493-1898

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Explorations by Early Navigators, Descriptions of the Islands and their Peoples, their History and Records of the Catholic Missions, as related in contemporaneous Books and Manuscripts, showing the Political, Economic, Commercial and Religious Conditions of those Islands from their earliest relations with European Nations to the close of the Nineteenth Century

TRANSLATED FROM THE ORIGINALS

Edited and annotated by EMMA HELEN BLAIR and JAMES ALEXANDER ROBERTSON, with historical introduction and additional notes by EDWARD GAYLORD BOURNE. With maps, portraits and other illustrations

Volume XLI—1691-1700



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PREFACE

The main part of this volume is a record of the Recollect missions in the Philippines from 1661 to 1712; these are conducted mainly in western Luzón, Mindanao, and Calamianes, and Assis's account contains much information of interest regarding conditions in those regions. "Moro raids in the seventeenth century" summarizes the principal events connected with that topic; and the Jesuit Clain presents an interesting account of the discovery that the islands called Palaos exist within range of the Philippines.

Extracts from letters written by Manila Jesuits in 1691 and 1694 furnish some items of news. Governor Cruzat y Gongora is making rigorous exactions upon the *alcaldes-mayor* and the tributary Indians; he engages in trade, and accepts gifts from office-seekers. In 1692, two richly-laden vessels from Manila are lost; and in 1694 another, which contained all the available wealth of the Manila citizens. Various ecclesiastical squabbles continue as echoes of the Pardo controversy.

A letter from the Jesuit Paul Clain (June 10, 1697) gives a vivid description of the arrival in Samar of some strange people, driven from their homes in the Palaos (or Pelew) Islands; and reports

the information gained from them about that hitherto unknown group in the broad Pacific. These foreigners receive kind treatment from the natives of Samar, and religious instruction from the missionaries there; and they desire to open communication between their own islands and the Philippines.

The chief part of this volume is devoted to the Recollect missions in various portions of the Philippines, the period treated in general being included in the years 1661-1712, although some few remarks touch a later period. The main portion of the account is taken from the chronicle of Pedro de San Francisco de Assis, the author of the fourth part of the Recollect *Historia general*; the second and subsidiary part from vols. viii and ix of Juan de la Concepción's *Historia*, this portion being designed merely to supplement the preceding account.

San Pedro de Assis describes cursorily the insurrection in Pampanga (there scarcely more than an attempt) and the more serious uprising in the province of Pangasinan and Zambales, and the part played by the Recollects in restoring peace. The revolt in Pampanga arises, like so many minor revolts in the past, through the injustice of lesser officials — this time the superintendent of the timber-cutting. Under leadership of one Francisco Manyago, a native military official, the Pampangos attempt to gain freedom, and plan a general uprising among various provinces. But though the most warlike of the Filipinos, they are at the same time the most reasonable, and are, consequently, easily quieted by the personal efforts of the governor, assisted ably by the various religious orders. More difficult to eliminate, however, is the leaven of discontent injected by the

Pampangos into the other provinces of Ilocos and Pangasinan. These northern provinces begin to think of a union for the purpose of securing liberty, and of a central government of their own. Our author chooses as his field more particularly the story of the revolt in Zambales, which he calls a district of the province of Pangasinan, and which is a Recollect mission territory. The revolt of Pangasinan is under the leadership of Andrés Málong, who aspires to kingship and who gradually gathers an army, some say, of 40,000 men. He intrigues through certain relatives and adherents in Zambales to compel the Zambals to declare in his favor, but notwithstanding the many in sympathy with him there, his attempts are bootless, for the Recollect religious work so strongly and courageously against his machinations that, in the end, entirely conquered by the troops sent against him from Manila, he meets the fate of other insurgent leaders. The efforts of Málong, through his relative Sumúlay, in the village of Bolináo, are frustrated by the vigilance and courage of Juan de la Madre de Dios, the vicar in charge of the convent there, but his church is burned by the insurgent sympathizers. The fathers and loyal natives, notwithstanding repeated threats of death, under the active leadership of the above father hold to their post, although one of the fathers, Luis de San Joseph, would have gladly abandoned the place. This same priest, however, performs brave feats in his delivery of messages from the vicar of Lingayén (who describes the revolt in Pangasinan, and asks aid from Manila), to the convent of Masinloc. Thence those messages are taken to Manila by Bernardino de la Concepción, accompanied by

three loyal chiefs, who are suitably rewarded for their services.

With the absence from Masinloc of the three loyal chiefs above-mentioned, treason shows its head in that village, its immediate outbreak being due to an inopportune rebuke administered by the prior to a chief who had neglected to attend mass. The religious and loyal natives are besieged in the convent, but escape by stratagem, by seizing a boat in which some natives have come to the village. Reaching the village of Bagác, they meet there the three loyal chiefs who are returning from Manila, and with their aid and that of thirty men gathered by the prior of Bagác, they recover the village of Masinloc from the insurgents. The majority of the inhabitants receive pardon, but three of the ringleaders are put to death.

In the village of Cigayén, a chief, Sirray, acts as agent for Málong, but failing to succeed in his plan to murder the religious there, finally joins Málong with twenty-five followers, while the father retires to Manila, and the village is abandoned by its other inhabitants. The village of Agno is quieted by the efforts of the Recollect Luis de San Joseph; and the chief, Durrey, the cause of the trouble there, and twelve of his partisans are forced to flee. In Bolinao, the flames of insurrection break out once more, for the vicar, Juan de la Madre de Dios, is now alone. Málong sends an emissary, one Caucáo, to deliver to him a letter, demanding that the place be turned over to him. The father, however, is enabled by the chance arrival of a champan with some religious, Spaniards, and natives, who are fleeing from Ilocos, to outwit his enemies for the time being. The quiet

of Bolinao lasts only so long as the above-mentioned champan remains there. After its departure Málong tries to secure the murder of the religious through Durrey and Sumúlay. The former is dissuaded from the attempt, and the latter persisting, is in turn attacked by the father, and wounded, although he escapes by the connivance of some of the inhabitants of Bolinao.

Meanwhile definite arrangements are made in Manila – and that more speedily than is the custom there – for sending troops to put down the incipient rebellion. The aid consists of a fleet under Felipe de Ugalde, and an army of 200 Spaniards, and 400 natives, under Francisco de Estebár. These joining and assisted further by some Zambals, quickly break up organized hostility. Punishment (too severe some think, but our author justifies it) is meted out to the leaders: Málong is shot; Sumúlay, Caucáo, Sirrey, and Durrey are hanged; while another leader in order to escape the death-sentence kills himself. Thus the insurrection, which has lasted but a portion of the years 1660 and 1661, comes to an end, and this attempt, perhaps the earliest in which various tribes or peoples of the Filipinos (although but waveringly it is true) show any desire to act in concert, is recorded only as a failure. The Sangleys, who have openly encouraged the insurrection, and have even fought in their ranks, also attempt to revolt, partly in response to the efforts of the pirate Kuesing; but their plans, both in 1661 and 1662, come to naught, divine Providence each time allowing the Recollects to act as agents. But the second attempt is put down only after the shedding of much Sangley blood.

Probably in the year 1662, the first work of the Re-

collects on the coast of Luzon opposite Manila begins, with the invitation of the Franciscans who are engaged in work there, but who must give up that field, a poor one, because of a scarcity of religious. Quickly accepting the invitation, the Recollects enter upon the work with enthusiasm, and found the convents of Binangónan, Valér, Casigúran, and Palánan. In that district much fruit for heaven is gathered; but in 1704 the dearth of religious (for none pass from Spain to the Philippines from 1692 to 1710) causes the order to restore the district to the Franciscans. Continuing, the deaths of the missionaries Juan de San Antonio and Joseph de la Anunciación in the years 1663 and 1664 are recorded, and synopses of their lives given.

In chapter viii, Assis, going back somewhat, gives a résumé of the sufferings of the Recollects between the years 1640-1668. These sufferings and persecutions come mainly from the Moros, who by their continual raids make themselves the scourge of all the Philippine mission villages; and such is the boldness of those pirates that they do not even hesitate to carry on their operations in sight of Manila itself. Added to the terrors of the Moros is also the active injury inflicted by the Dutch, those heretics allying themselves even with the Moros to cause injury to the true Catholic faith. The peace between Spain and Holland comes as a most welcome relief to the colony. The Recollect villages and missions being in the very midst of the Moro territory are the worst afflicted by that scourge. Their pitiful petitions for aid fall on deaf ears, for at Manila, self interest rules, and trade is the syren of the hour, not religion. The Recollects, too, are not without their

martyrs for the faith as the result of Moro persecutions, while others succumb to the hardships of the missionary labors.

The work among the Zambals is again taken up by our author in the year 1670. The inhabitants of that district are a fierce people, those in the mountains being more so than those dwelling along the coast and on the plains, where they have had intercourse with other natives and with Spaniards. The mountain population contains many apostates and heathens, while many Negritos wander homeless and in utter barbarous condition through their fastnesses. Although all those people are hostile among themselves, they unite against the Spaniards, for their common hatred to the latter draws them together. All the orders have had a share in the reduction of those fierce people, but the Recollects with the greatest success. The fierceness of the people leads the Recollects to employ gentle means, and thus by adapting themselves to the genius of their flock they gain many converts – the most abundant being during the years 1668-1671, when the provincial Cristobal de Santa Monica appoints nine religious for the work. As a result of their labors 2,000 people are reduced to a Christian and settled life, and others also adopt the faith. The new villages of Iba (formerly called Paynavén), Subic, and Mórong are formed from the converts, while all the old villages increase in population. Two new convents are established – one in Paynavén, and the other in Bagác. All this is accomplished by the year 1670. In 1671, Joseph de la Trinidad makes great gains for Christianity in the Zambal district, and, on becoming provincial in 1674, takes especial care of those missions. But un-

fortunately the Recollects clash with the Dominicans, whose administration lies in the district of Ba-táan; and although the Recollects resist, they are at length (1679) compelled by the archbishop, Felipe de Pardo (who covets the entire district for his order) and the governor to cede the Zambal missions to the Dominicans, and to take in exchange the island of Mindoro, which has been for many years in charge of the seculars.

Following is told in synopsis the life of Miguel de Santo Tomás, most of whose mission life has been spent in the province of Caraga. The general chapter of 1672, meeting in Spain, assigns definitors and discreets to the Philippine province.

Chapter iv of the ninth decade of the history carries us into Mindanao, where the work among the heathen Tagabalóyes is reviewed. These are a heathen people living in the neighborhood of Bislig in Caraga, the Recollect mission center farthest from Manila, in the mountains called Baloo (whence their name). They are a domestically inclined people, courageous and intelligent, faithful in their treaties and promises, and said to be the descendants of the Japanese. Not much can be done among them until the year 1671 because of the Moro wars, the little government aid received, and the scarcity of religious, the two in the district being unable to extend their labors much outside of their regular duties. But in 1671, Juan de San Felipe, the new provincial, who has been a missionary in Bislig, appoints a religious especially to look after the conversion of the mountain people. That religious aided by the other two, has baptized 300 adults by 1673, besides 100 others who die immediately after receiving that

sacrament. By 1674 the district of Bislig has increased from 200 to 800 whole tributes. This conversion has been aided by certain miraculous occurrences.

In 1674, Joseph de la Trinidad the provincial increases the mission forces by the appointment of special ministers who visit the various districts continually, carrying aid to the most needed parts of the districts assigned them, and thus easing the burden of the missionaries already established in the various villages by giving them more time to attend to their regular duties. His greatest efforts he expends in the Mindanao provinces of Butuan and Cagayan, where Christianity, in consequence, makes vast gains. The faith is carried among the Manobos of the Linao district, and the population of the villages increases. The three religious working in the mountains of Cagayan, and in toward Lake Malanao, reduce more than one hundred tributes to Christian villages in spite of the hostility of the Moros, the conversion being aided throughout by manifest miracles.

The ninth chapter of the ninth decade relates the work in the new field of Mindoro. The mission work of that island (of which and its people a brief description is given) is first begun by the Augustinians, who cede the district to the Franciscans. Later the Jesuits maintain a number of missionaries there and found the permanent mission of Naojan, which is maintained until Luis de San Vitores goes to the missions of the Ladrones or Marianas, when the island is turned over to three seculars. The district is a poor one, and the seculars, although zealous in their duties, cannot be adequately supported. Finally in 1679, as related above, the Recollects, after their

glorious record in the Philippines and their flourishing mission work in the Zambal district, take up the Mindoro mission field, after a vain protest at being ousted from their Zambal missions. The transfer is speedily concluded by chaplaincies being provided for the seculars, and the Recollects, taking possession of the new territory, immediately put six religious to work. The new leaven is felt instantly and the number of Christians increases from 4,000 in 1679 to 8,000 in 1692, and to 12,000 in 1716. Although the Moro depredations lessen that number later, in 1738, San Antonio still chronicles over 7,000. The first convent established at Baco is later moved to Calapan. Convents are also established at Naojan, Calavite, and Mangárin (which is later removed to Bongabong, because of its unhealthy site and the raids of the Moros), all of which have their visitas. A mountain mission established later results in a great increase to the Christians of Mindoro.

The succeeding chapter deals with the resumption of the Recollect missions in Calamianes which have been abandoned in 1662 because of the Chinese pirate Kuesing, and the consequent withdrawal of the support of the military. All but two of the missions, those in Cuyo and Agutaya, which are retained by the Recollects, have been given into the care of one secular priest, and this arrangement is maintained until 1680, when the Recollects (although somewhat unwillingly on their part) again accept the ministry of those islands. In November of 1680 three religious are sent there, the possession of the Recollects is given royal confirmation in 1682, and in 1684 the arrival of a new mission allows them to assign other workers to the field. There are plenty of hardships

to suffer, but the fruit is great. New missions are established, and by 1715 the number of Christians has risen from 4,500 in 1680 to 18,600; and in 1735 Calamianes and Romblón contain 21,076 Christians. Certain missionaries are named and praised for their work. Incidentally an interesting description is given of the training of the native children for the service of the Church, by which our author refutes the charge that the religious have many servants.

Notwithstanding their efforts, several times all but successful, the Recollects are unable to extend their evangelization to the great empire of China, as is related in chapter ii of decade x. The succeeding chapter tells of the Recollect missions sent from Spain to the Philippines during the three decades covered by this history (1661-1690). The first leaves Spain in 1660 under the leadership of Eugenio de los Santos, and consists of twenty choristers and two lay-brothers. One of the entire number reaches Manila in 1662, and fourteen others the following year. The second mission is in charge of Christobal de Santa Monica, who has been appointed procurator in 1663. All of that mission of twenty-four religious which sets sail in 1666 reaches Manila in 1667, except two who remain in Mexico. The third mission is collected in 1675 by Juan de la Madre de Dios, who takes the twenty-six religious composing it to Mexico, but there hands them over to another religious while he himself returns to Spain. They reach the islands in 1676. In 1680, Cristobal de Santa Monica is sent to Spain as procurator, reaching his destination in 1681. In 1683, he sails from Cadiz with a mission consisting of nineteen fathers, nineteen choristers, and five lay-brothers. All of that number, ex-

cept one who dies at sea and two who desert at Puerto Rico and return home, reach the Philippines in April, 1684, and are distributed among the convents. The general chapter of 1684 held in Spain elects definitors and discreets for the Philippine province.

Most of chapter v of decade x treats of the life of Juan de la Madre de Dios, which we give by synopsis and extract. He is one of the most active and able workers whom the order has had in the islands, where he has held many offices in the order and has also worked valiantly in the missions. He is one of the most untiring of idol-worship destroyers, and even dares to venture alone to the places where heathen assemblies are held for the purpose of their nefarious worship. Of a political nature also, so far as the order is concerned, his work is by no means slight, and he obtains much for his province in Spain. His death occurs in the latter country in 1685. This same chapter relates also the life of Thomás de San Geronimo (given by us in synopsis), a missionary in the Visayan region. He is elected provincial in 1680, and so well is he liked that he is again elected in 1686 against his will. His death occurs the same year.

In chapter viii of decade x the Recollect labors in the islands of Masbate, Ticao, and Burias are reviewed. These islands which have been conquered during the early years of Legazpi's arrival in the archipelago are an important way-station for ships plying between Nueva España and the islands. The faith is introduced into Masbate by the Augustinians under Alonso Jimenez, who is called the "apostle of Masbate." The Augustinians, however, aban-

don that island and Ticao in 1609, and seculars have charge of the mission work there from that year until 1688. In the latter year the Recollects are substituted for the seculars in accordance with the plan of the bishop of Nueva Cáceres, that the district be given to a regular order. A decree of August 13, 1685 grants the islands to the Recollects as well as certain villages in Luzón. The latter are resigned by that order to the Franciscans, as they can be administered more easily by them, but the islands of Masbate, Ticao, and Burias are accepted by them in 1687. In 1688 the cession is made by the secular in charge at Mobó in the island of Masbate, to the content of the natives who welcome the Recollects. A good convent is founded in Mobó and three new villages, in addition to the six existing when the Recollects enter, are established. In 1726 another convent is founded in the district after the wreck of a galleon in order that the image of the Santo Cristo of Burgos which is carried by that ship and which is saved through the diligence of one of the passengers on the vessel, Julian de Velasco, may be properly housed. In reply to a petition of the Recollects in 1724 asking royal confirmation of the Masbate missions, a report on their work there is ordered. It is found that the number of families has increased from 187 in 1687 to 585 in 1722, an increase of 398 families or 1,592 persons. In 1738, there are 5,000 persons in the islands, and three new villages, one in Ticao, and two in Masbate. This means that the order has formed six villages and brought 3,252 persons to the bosom of the Church in the time that they have had control of this district. The number has been lessened by the invasions of the Moros. The con-

versions have been made among heathens, apostates, refugees from other islands – all of whom represent the worst elements. The Recollects have had to fight against the forces of nature, the Moros, and sorcery. They have persevered in the face of all manner of hardships – hardships that cause some of the missionaries who have been there to say that the Masbate territory offers more suffering than any other mission field.

The extracts from Concepción cover in part the same field as the history by San Francisco de Assis; except the third, which tells of the restoration of the missions of Zambales to the Recollects, and gives a brief account of the judicial proceedings between that order and the Dominicans.

The first extract concerns the enforced transfer of the Zambal missions to the Dominicans. This comes about directly from the representation made in the Council of the Indias by Diego de Villaroto, to the effect that the conversion of the island of Mindoro would progress much more rapidly if given to the religious order best suited therefor, and if the seculars in charge of the curacies there be appointed to chaplaincies. Royal attention is given this petition and in 1677 a royal decree orders the governor and archbishop to make the transfer. In consequence, Felipe Pardo, the archbishop, quick to seize the opportunity, aided by the governor, compels the unwilling Recollects to give up their missions among the Zambals and take the island of Mindoro, in order that the Dominicans might take the former. Such an arrangement is very convenient for the Dominicans, as it enables them to better concentrate their missions in Pangasinan, and affords them easier com-

munication among their various missions. The protests of the Recollects that the Zambals prefer their order and that the people of Mindoro will prefer their old missionaries the Jesuits, and that the two districts will be disturbed and restless has no weight, and the governor sees that they are kept quiet through the Spanish officials there. The three Recollects assigned to Mindoro are Diego de la Madre de Dios, Diego de la Resurrection, and Eugenio de los Santos, and they are each given one assistant. A description of Mindoro and its people follows, and a résumé of its early conquest and of missionary labors there. Since the Jesuits have abandoned that field (with the going of Luis San Vítores to the Marianas) the seculars have had ecclesiastical charge of the island, but it is a poor place and scarcely can any secular be found who cares to accept it. After the entrance of the Recollects, the number of Christians steadily rises, evangelization making progress among the Mangyans, Negritos, and other peoples. Four convents are established, each of them with several visitas, and the mission to the Mangyans on the bay of Ilog, in the last of which none of the apostatized Christians are allowed to enter lest they pervert the new plants. "But that fine flower-garden [*i.e.*, the island of Mindoro] has been trampled down and even ruined by the Moros." The Dominicans bend their energies to the work in their newly-acquired missions of Zambales. With malicious satisfaction, Concepción reports that their efforts have resulted mainly in failure. Believing that the eleven villages which they have received from the Recollects are too many for the best administration of the district, they endeavor to consolidate and move some of them.

Bolinao, which under the Recollect regime was located on a small island off the coast of Zambales, is moved across the channel to the barren coast where "many inconveniences but no advantages" are possessed. Agno is moved inland from the coast; Sigayen is also moved, the only advantage made by the changed site being the river of fresh water on which it is located. Paynavén is moved inland to the site of Iba, to which its name is changed, and Iba becomes the capital of the district, but in order that it may become so, some families are moved from Bolinao. The villages of Cabangán and Subic are made from the consolidation of several others, and the places left vacant by refugees are filled by families from Pangasinan, whence the natives can be moved easier as that province is so densely populated that there is not sufficient room for all of them. The inference is that the evil caused by the administration of the Dominicans is greater than the good, in discontent among the Zambals and the flight of many families to Ilocos and to the mountains.

The second extract recounts, quite similarly to the version given by San Francisco de Assis, the work in Recollect missions in the islands of Masbate, Ticao, and Burias. These islands are a part of the bishopric of Nueva Cáceres, and are under the civil control of the alcalde of Albay. Masbate, the largest, has traces of gold and some fine copper mines, but the gold has never paid well. All three islands possess excellent timber and many civet-cats. The early history of the islands and their early spiritual conquests are told. Through the efforts of the bishop, Andres Gonzales, O.P., the islands are given to the Recollects, the secular priest in charge there being given

a chaplaincy instead. Certain villages of Luzón, which were also to be given to the Recollects, are given instead to the Franciscans who contest them with the former. The islands are important both from a secular and religious point of view, for they are a way-station for the Acapulco ships, and also for the Recollect missions in Cebú and Mindanao. As related above, the Recollects ask royal confirmation of the missions of these islands in 1724, and the subsequent report rendered shows that their work has resulted in great progress, and that they have made the islands a safe place where before they were most dangerous both on the coast and in the interior.

The third extract concerns the work of the Dominicans in the missions of Zambales and the restoration of that district to the Recollects. From Concepción's account (which must be read in connection with that by Salazar, the Dominican), the Dominican order did not have the success of their predecessors among the fierce Zambals, and ended rather in alienating them by their aggressive treatment; while the Recollects have, on the contrary, employed gentle means by which they have won the hearts and minds of the Zambals. The presidio at Paynavén which has been increased, is injudiciously allowed to make raids among the natives upon any occasion. The trouble comes to a head with the murder of the nephew of one of the chiefs, Dalinen, by another chief Calignao, the latter of whom appears to have been a thoroughly unreliable and malicious man. Dalinen, in order to avenge the murder in accordance with Zambal traditions, takes to the wilds, but with his followers, is pursued by the soldiers of the garrison. As Calignao has not fled, the missionary Domingo Pé-

rez, O.P., in order to win him over, indiscreetly announces that the murder of Dalinen's nephew has been by command of the government, which has ordered that all those who refuse to reduce themselves to village life be killed. Calignao, as another act in the tragedy, plans to kill Dalinen, and by the aid of a Negrito, accomplishes that design. Then, in order to show in full light his character, he compasses the death of Domingo Pérez, wounding the latter so severely that he dies through lack of efficient care. Although the Dominicans claim certain miraculous occurrences as happening at the death of the above father, Concepción disproves them all. The remainder of the extract has to do with the suits between the Recollects and the Dominicans in regard to the Zambal missions, which last spasmodically from the time the Recollects are compelled to abandon them until the time of their restoration in 1712. The Recollects claim throughout that they have been despoiled unjustly of the missions, and that although they accepted the missions of Mindoro, they have had no other alternative, and have not accepted them as a compensation for the loss of the Zambal missions. Indeed they have never renounced their claim to those missions, but have regularly appointed ministers for them (who of course have not labored in those missions). The Dominicans, on the other hand, assert that they have merely taken over those missions in response to commands from the archbishop and the governor to that effect. The suit drags on wearily, each side asserting its rights, and the matter being delayed by such proceeding until it seems unending. Finally the Dominicans, with a change of procurator, shift their tactics, and allege that they are not

at all a party to any suit, and since they have received the missions at the order of the governor, they are ready to resign them if requested so to do. The Recollects maintain the opposite, namely, that the Dominicans are a party to the suit; and the verdict is at length given to them, and the Dominicans are ordered in 1690 to appear before the Audiencia within three days to plead their right. The summons is neglected until the year 1710, when the attorney for the Recollects again stirs up the matter, and notwithstanding the fact that the Dominicans still adhere to their former statements that they are not a party to the suit, the matter is brought to court, and the missions of the Zambals turned over to the Recollects by special sentence.

Through nearly all of the Spanish regime in the Philippines, those islands, especially and most the Visayan, suffered greatly from the frequent and cruel raids of the Moro pirates from Mindanao and other islands south of it. Some account of these is a necessary part of this work; but our limits of space will not allow us to reproduce verbose and detailed relations like that of Combés (in his *Hist. de Mindanao*), especially as this and some others of similar tenor cover but a short period of time. In an appendix to this volume we present a brief summary of this subject, down to the end of the seventeenth century; the first part is an outline merely, drawn from our previous volumes, giving full citations therefrom, which show the relations existing between the Spaniards and the Mahometan Malays from 1565 to 1640. The second part covers the same subject for the rest of the century; it is composed of the accounts given by Murillo Velarde, Diaz, and other historians, ar-

ranged in chronological order – sometimes synopsized, sometimes translated in full, according to the prolixity or the relative importance of each. From the beginning were evident various elements of hostility – racial, religious, and commercial – between the Spaniards and the Moros, which were soon aggravated by the Spanish desire for conquest and the Moro greed for plunder and bloodshed. The unfortunate natives of the northern islands who had been subjugated by the Spaniards were unable to defend themselves from their enemies, and the Spanish power was often inadequate to protect them or to punish the invaders. The pirates were intimidated and curbed for a long time by Corcuera's brilliant campaigns in Mindanao and Joló (1637-38); and other punitive expeditions had a like though often temporary effect in later years. In the latter part of the century peace prevailed between these enemies for a long time, probably because no one of the Moro chiefs had the ability and force of the noted Corralat.

In 1639 Almonte subdues the fierce Guimbanos, a mountain people in Sulu. Later, they and the Joloans rebel, and in 1643-44 Agustín de Cepeda again chastises them, defeating the natives in several battles and ravaging their country. One of these expeditions is related in detail by a Jesuit in Joló, who, as usual, ascribes the success of the Spaniards to the favor of St. Ignatius and the Virgin Mary. In Mindanao, Corcuera's invasion (1637) long restrains Corralat; but in 1655 he treacherously causes the murder of three Spanish envoys sent to him and attempts (but in vain) to stir up the other Moro rulers to rebellion against the Spaniards. The latter are not strong enough to wage war with him, and therefore

overlook his insolence; this encourages him to begin anew his piratical raids against other islands. At this, several attempts are made to curb them, most proving ineffectual – although in January-February, 1658, Esteybar with a squadron of armed vessels, destroys several Mindanao villages. Finally (in 1662) the Manila authorities decide to abandon their forts in Mindanao and Joló; this causes the loss of Spanish dominion there, and the christianized Moros soon relapse into their former heathenism. Some of the Joloan chiefs make unauthorized raids on the northern islands, but their king punishes them and restores the captives. Corralat meanwhile, in his old age, maintains peace, and charges his heir to do the same – an example which is followed by the king of Joló. The Camucones are kept in awe by the light galleys which are built at Manila for this purpose. Thus the latter part of the century is a time of comparative peace, so far as the relations of the Spaniards and Visayans with the Moros are concerned.

THE EDITORS

July, 1906.

DOCUMENTS OF 1691-1700

Extracts from Jesuit letters. Juan de Zarzuela, and others; 1691 and 1694.

Discovery of Palaos Islands. Paul Clain, S. J.; June 10, 1697.

Recollect missions in the Philipppines, 1661-1712. Pedro de San Francisco de Assis; 1756. Juan de la Concepción; 1788.

SOURCES: The first of these documents is obtained from the Ventura del Arco MSS. (Ayer library), iv, pp. 1-3, 69-72; the second, from *Lettres édifiantes* (1st Paris ed.), i, (1717), pp. 112-136, from a copy in the library of the Wisconsin Historical Society; the third, from the *Historia general de los religiosos descalzos de San Agustin*, part iv, written by Pedro de San Francisco de Assis (Zaragoza, 1756), from a copy in the Library of Congress.

TRANSLATIONS: The first document is translated by Emma Helen Blair; the second, by Frances B. Marshall; the third, by James Alexander Robertson.

EXTRACTS FROM JESUIT LETTERS,
1691-94

[From a letter by Father Juan de Zarzuela,¹
June 19, 1691.]

The governor Don Fausto Cruzat y Gongora is a royal official in these islands, who makes every endeavor to collect the revenue of his Majesty. He has a hasty disposition, and no one dares oppose him; consequently there are few who wish him well, and there is no one who desires the office of alcalde, on account of the burdens that he imposes on them (never customary here), of completing every year the royal revenue and its accounts, and filling out the quota of what they must collect, even though they do not actually collect it. The result is, that the alcaldes contribute from their own stores what they had not collected; for, no matter what efforts they make, they cannot during the year finish the collections, on account of the extreme poverty of the Indians. The governor has for counselors or intimates only Andaya and Antonio, for whom he does many things

¹ Juan de Zarzuela was born in Argete on February 11, 1640. When sixteen years old, he entered the Jesuit novitiate, and ten years later went to the Philippines. He was rector at Iloilo, and vice-rector at Cavite; rector and vice-rector at San José during seven years, and procurator of the province during five; and filled other posts. He died in Manila, May 27, 1706. (Murillo Velarde, fol 394 b.)

and confers many offices. It is not known how much it costs them. His Lordship brought over a great amount of silver from the viceroy, which is necessarily sent as an investment; and there will be many who complain of this, because [the goods procured by] it will occupy the greater part of the ship. For this reason no one wished to accept command of the ship, for it will be nothing more than to go in the governor's employ; and finally it was given to Don José Mato Rayo. It is a new ship which is sailing; it was built by Andaya as contractor, and superintendent of the whole – whom the governor obeyed, as one who was necessary to him, because there was no ship that could be sent. That is, the “Santo Niño” was in such a condition that it could not be repaired; and, as the time was short (it was then only nine months), it was necessary to multiply the exactions [*sacas*]. Thus Silang, which has two hundred and twenty-seven and a half tributes registered, had one hundred and twenty men at one time outside of their village; others had seventy, eighty, or more out – without being able to take care of their grain-fields. Afterward, because there was not enough rice for the king, through lack of foresight in the royal officials, they levied another assessment of rice on the natives [in Cavite] as also in La Laguna, the king paying but one-half of what the Indians could sell it for later, and leaving them under the necessity of buying the grain at double price. The worst thing is, that now the rice has become so scarce that it is worth nine and ten reals, at which price it is sold in the [royal] magazines; and the tribute which is given by the very Indians on whom this purchase was levied is sold at the magazines, without being placed

therein, to the rice-mills. This gentleman very willingly accepts what people give him for the offices. At the beginning, it was understood that he would not receive gifts; but with five children, a wife, and a sister-in-law, and heavily indebted, the office costing him so much, and he coming so great a distance, how can he avoid looking out for money? He is not opposed to the Society [of Jesus], but we are under no obligation to him. Our order has no kindly feeling toward thieves, and it is thought most probable, as nearly as can be guessed, that he will not speak [of us] very favorably to his Majesty. He says that he will despatch the *balandra*² this year; but I do not know how this will be, because they have not begun to get it ready.

[From a letter by Father Magino Sola,
June 19, 1691.]

On the twenty-fifth of July, Señor Fausto Cruzat y Gongora took possession of the government. When Don Juan de Vargas was ready to embark this year, the city brought a new suit against him, and seized the little that he possessed.

[From a letter by Father Juan de Montemayor,
dated July 4, 1694.]

He says therein that information had been received in Manila that the Dominicans would not be promoted to bishoprics in the Filipinas Islands, a statement that had been well received. The bishop of Troya had attempted to regain the government of the archbishopric, founding his claim on a royal decree

² A light sailing vessel, with one mast; a sloop. Cf. Dutch *bylander*, a coasting vessel.

in which he was charged to surrender it to the person who had been presented by his Majesty (from which he inferred that the king approved his government), but slighting the imperative order [*ruego y encargo*] that he should set out for España. He demanded that the governor send him the official correspondence from España for the governor of the archbishopric; but the governor replied that he would send him that which should go to the name of his illustrious Lordship.

[Letter by Father Pedro de Silva Alencastre,
July 20, 1694.]

[He says] that for three years past no letters from the islands reached Mejico, because in July of the year 1692 the patache which was going to the Marianas, with more than twenty thousand pesos, was burned while in the very port. In the same year the ship "Santo Cristo" sailed for Acapulco, and had to come back to this port from the thirtieth degree of latitude. Then she sailed in July of 93, from the port of Naga; and up to the present time nothing is known about her fate. In 1694 a galleon was built that was 72 cubits long [*de 72 codos de quilla*], an audacious attempt. It set sail on the eve of St. Peter's day; and on the following Saturday, while off the shore of Maragondon, it went to pieces. It was laden with more than twelve thousand packages; for all the citizens had invested whatever they possessed, in order to lade this ship, and even the wrought silver and the jewels of the women had been sold in order to invest their value in stuffs. The letter was sent by the patache which the governor was despatching as an express, so that they might know in Mejico and España that the islands were not destroyed.

[Letter by Father Gaspar Marco,³ July 27, 1694.]

The bishop of Troya was going on, thinking that the government of the archbishopric belonged to him, and did not ordain the clerics who presented dismissory letters from the cabildo of Manila – assuming that the king regarded him as ecclesiastical governor – and that, in spite of the permit for absence which commanded him to return to España. The cabildo had brought suit against Doctor Nicolas Caraballo, sentencing him to exile in Nueva España. He embarked in the year 1692; but, the galleon having come back to the port of Naga in the province of Camarines, the bishop of that diocese not only received and entertained Caraballo, but absolved him and qualified him to hold any office or benefice. The cabildo of Manila, who had sent a person to conduct Caraballo to that city, endured this slight and said nothing, when they knew of the conduct of the bishop of Camarines, in order not to arouse another dispute. The bishop appointed Caraballo governor of the bishopric of Cebu, on account of the death of its prelate, in 1692. He began his rule by visiting and punishing the curas, until he removed the cura of Aclan, named Salazar, and seized his goods, without allowing him any appeal to the metropolitan. Salazar escaped to Manila, and informed the cabildo of this; and they commissioned the cantor, Don Esteban de Olmedo, to arrest Caraballo. The bishop of Camarines had information of all this, and went in person to protect him. He arrived twenty-four hours after

³ Gaspar Marco was born in Biar, Valencia, January 25, 1660, and became a Jesuit novice in 1682. Seven years later, he came to Manila, and was for fifteen years procurator of the college there. After filling other offices, he was sent as procurator of the province to Madrid and Rome. He was taken ill in Spain, and died on September 8, 1716. (Murillo Velarde, fol. 406.)

Olmedo, and arrested the latter; he passed sentence on him, with the counsel and opinion of Caraballo himself, and carried Olmedo to Camarines with a pair of fetters, where he remained until the date [of the letter], without the cabildo having taken any steps for his liberation.

DISCOVERY OF THE PALAOS ISLANDS

Letters written from Manila, June 10, 1697, by Father Paul Clain⁴ of the Society of Jesus to Reverend Father Tirso Gonzalez, general of the same Society, on the new discovery that has been made of thirty-two islands, south of the Marianas Islands.

After the departure of the vessel which was commissioned with the letters which I wrote during the year past to your Paternity, there arrived another which brought me the order to accompany the reverend father Antonio Fuccio,⁵ of Sicily, the new provincial of this province. Making with him the circuit of our houses, I have taken a survey of the country of the Pintados. There are large islands separated from one another by arms of the sea, in which the tide renders navigation difficult and dangerous. There are in these islands seventy-seven thousand Christians, under the spiritual direction of forty-

⁴ Paul Clain (originally Klein) was born at Agra, Bohemia, and entered the Jesuit order September 14, 1669. In 1678 he went to Mexico, and four years later to the Philippines; he there was rector in several colleges, provincial, professor, and missionary. He died on August 30, 1717. (Sommervogel, ii, col. 1197.)

⁵ Antonio Tuccio (misprinted Fuccio in our text) was born at Messina, April 16, 1641, and became a Jesuit novice at the age of seventeen. After completing his studies, he was a teacher during five years; in 1672 went to the Philippines, where he was rector at Cavite and Manila, and twice provincial. He died at Manila, February 4, 1716. (Sommervogel, viii, col. 265.)

one missionaries of our Society, who have with them two of our brothers who provide for their subsistence.

I can scarcely express to you, my reverend Father, how I have been moved at the sight of these poor Indians, of whom there are many who die without receiving the sacraments of the church, in great danger of their eternal salvation: because there are so few priests here, that the majority of them have charge of two villages at the same time. When it happens that they are occupied in one place, fulfilling the functions of their ministry, they are not able to assist those who die in the other. I have been still more greatly moved by the forsaken condition in which we found several other persons, who died in the islands that are called Pais. Although these islands are not far from the Marianas, their inhabitants have no intercourse with those of the latter group. The discovery of this new country has this year been made certain, as is here recounted.

In making the visitation with the father provincial, as I have already said, we arrived at the village of Guivam,⁶ on the island of Samal, the largest and southernmost island of the Eastern Pintados. We found there twenty-nine Palaos, or natives of these newly-discovered islands. The easterly winds which rule over these seas from the month of December to the month of May had blown them three hundred leguas from their islands to this village on the island of Samal. They had come on two small vessels, that are called here "paraos." This is how they relate their adventure.

⁶ Guian is the name of a village and port on the extreme south coast of Samar; it has a good anchorage for vessels, even in typhoons.

LETTRES
EDIFIANTES
ET

CURIEUSES,
ECRITES DES MISSIONS
Etrangeres, par quelques Mission-
naires de la Compagnie de JESUS.

VI. RECUEIL.



A PARIS,
Chez NICOLAS LE CLERC, rue
S. Jacques, proche S. Yves, à l'Image
Saint Lambert.

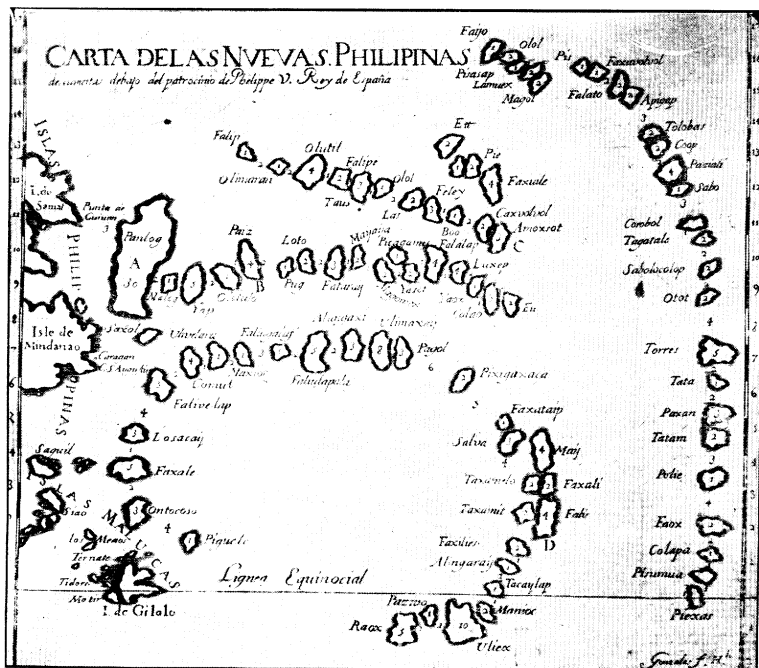
M. DCC. XXIII.
AVEC PRIVILEGE DU ROY.

They had embarked, thirty-five persons in all, intending to go to a neighboring island, when there arose a wind so violent that they were not able to gain the island where they wished to land, or any other in the neighborhood, and were carried out to the open sea. They made many efforts to land on some shore or some island known to them, but without avail. They sailed thus at the will of the winds during seventy days without being able to make land. Finally losing all hope of returning to their country, and seeing themselves half-dead with hunger, without water and without food, they resolved to abandon themselves to the mercy of the winds, and land on the first island they could find toward the west. Scarcely had they taken this resolution, when they found themselves in sight of the village of Guivam on the island of Samal. A man from that village who was on the seashore saw them, and, judging by the structure of their little vessels that they were some strangers who had lost their way, he took a piece of cloth and made them a signal to enter by the channel that he indicated, in order to avoid the rocks and the banks of sand upon which they were about to run aground. These poor men were so frightened at seeing this stranger that they began to put back to sea; however much effort they made, they were not able to turn about, and the wind blew them a second time toward the shore. When they were near, the Guivam man made them understand by signs the route that they should take; but, seeing that they were not taking it, and that they would surely be lost, he threw himself into the sea, and swam to one of those two small vessels, with the design of acting as pilot and of conducting them safely to port. Scarcely

had he reached the vessel when those who were on board, even the women carrying their children, threw themselves into the water to gain the other vessel, so much did they fear the approach of this stranger. This man, seeing himself alone in the small vessel, followed after them; and, having entered into the second, he cleared all the rocks and piloted it safely into the harbor. During this time the poor people remained motionless, and gave themselves up to the guidance of the stranger, whose prisoners they considered themselves.

They landed on St. Innocent's day, the twenty-eighth of December of the year 1696. The inhabitants of Guivam gathered on the shore, received them with charity, and brought them some wine and some food. They ate eagerly some cocoanuts, which are the fruit of the palms of this country. The meat in them is somewhat like that of chestnuts, except that it has more oil, and that it furnishes a kind of sweetened water which is agreeable to drink. The natives presented them with rice boiled in water, which the people use here and in all of Asia, as one does bread in Europe. They looked at it with wonder, and took some grains of it, which they immediately threw on the ground, imagining that they were worms. They exhibited much pleasure when some of the large roots that are called *palavan* were brought to them, and eagerly ate them.

Meanwhile the natives brought two women whom the wind had thrown upon the same shore at Guivam some time before. As they knew a little of the language of this country, they served as interpreters, and it is through them that we learned what I am about to relate. One of those women found among



Map of New Philippines or Palaos Islands, 1710 (?)

[Photographic facsimile of original map in Archivo general de Indias, Sevilla]

these strangers some of her kindred, and they no sooner recognized each other than they began to weep. The father who had charge of this village, having learned of the arrival of these poor people, had them come to Guivam. Some, when they saw him and perceived the respect that was shown him, imagined that he was the king of the country, and that their lives and their fate were in his hands. In this belief they threw themselves upon the ground to implore his mercy, and to beg that he would grant them their lives. The father, touched with compassion at seeing them in such great desolation, did all that he could to console them; and, to mitigate their fears, he caressed their children, of whom three were still at the breast, and five others a trifle older, and promised their parents to give them all the help that was in his power.

The inhabitants of Guivam vied with each other in offering to the father to take the strangers into their houses, and to furnish them with all things that they needed, both food and clothing. The father committed the strangers to them, but on condition that they should not separate those who were married (for there were some married ones among them); and that they should not take less than two together, for fear that those who were left alone would die of grief. Of thirty-five who had come aboard the ships there now remained no more than thirty; five had died during the voyage, because of the lack of food and the privations of the long journey. A little while after their arrival still another died, who had the good fortune to receive holy baptism.

They said that their country consisted of thirty-three islands. They cannot be very far from the Ma-

rianas, to judge from the structure of their vessels, and by the form of their sails, since these are of the same style. There is strong indication that these islands are farther to the south than the Marianas, in eleven or twelve degrees north latitude, and upon the same parallel as Guivam; since the strangers came straight from the east to the west, and landed on the shore at this settlement. There is also ground for believing that this is one of the islands that was discovered from afar some years ago. A vessel belonging to the Philippines (in 1686) having left the customary route, which is from east to west upon the thirteenth parallel, and having veered somewhat toward the southwest, saw it for the first time. These people called this island Carolina, in honor of the king (Charles II, king of Spain); and the others called it St. Barnabas, because it was discovered on the day when the church celebrates the feast of this apostle. This island was seen last year by another vessel that the tempest had blown out of its course, in going from here to the Marianas Islands. The governor of the Philippines had often given orders to the ship which went nearly every year to the Marianas, to seek for this island and the others that were thought to be near; but these orders had been useless, God reserving to this time the discovery of them, and as we hope, the complete conversion of these people.

The strangers added that of these thirty-three islands there were three which were inhabited only by birds, but that the others were thickly peopled. When asked what was the number of the inhabitants, they took a grain of sand or of dust, and intimated to the father in this fashion, the innumerable multi-

tude of men who lived there. These islands are named Pais, Lamululutup, Saraon, Yaropie, Valayay, Satavan, Cutac, Yfaluc, Piraulop, Ytai, Pic, Piga, Lamurrec, Puc, Falait, Caruvaruvong, Ylatu, Lamuliur, Tavas, Saypen, Tacaulat, Rapiyang, Tavon, Mutacusan, Piylu, Olatan, Palu, Cucumyat, Piyalucunung. The three which are only inhabited by birds are Piculat, Hulutan, and Tagian. Lamurrec is the largest of all these islands. It is where the king of all that country holds his court. The chiefs of all those settlements submit to him. There was found among these strangers one of the chiefs with his wife, who is the daughter of a king. Although they may be half-naked, they have manners and a certain air of dignity, which makes one recognize well enough who they are. The husband has all his body painted with certain lines, the arrangement of which forms various figures. The other men of this tribe have also some similar lines, some of them more than the others; but the women and the children do not have them at all. There are nineteen men and ten women, of different ages. The contour and the color of their faces are very similar to those of the natives of the Philippines. The men have no other dress than a kind of girdle which covers their loins and thighs, and which is wound several times about their bodies. They have upon their shoulders more than an ell and a half of coarse cloth, of which they make a kind of hood, which they tie in front, and allow to hang carelessly behind. The men and the women are dressed in the same fashion, except that the women have their wearing apparel a little longer, descending from the waist almost to the knees.

Their language is different from that of the Philippines, and resembles that of the Marianas Islands. Their manner of pronouncing words is something like that of the Arabs. The woman who appears to be of highest station has many rings and necklaces of tortoise-shell, that are called here *carey*; and others of a material that is unknown to us. This material, which somewhat resembles ambergris, is not transparent.

This is the manner in which they lived upon the sea during the seventy days while they had been at the mercy of the waves. They threw into the sea a sort of weir, made of several small branches of trees tied together. This weir had a large opening to allow the fish to enter, and ended in a point to prevent their going out. The fish that they caught in this manner were all the nourishment they had, and they did not drink any water except that which the rain furnished them; they caught it in the shells of cocoanuts – which are the fruit of the palms of this country, as I have already said; they are of the shape and size of a man's skull.

There are no cows in those islands. The natives tried to run away when they saw some cows browsing the grass, just as when they heard a small dog bark in the house of the missionaries. There are neither cats nor deer, nor horses, nor, in general, any four-legged beast. There are but few birds, except those which live on the sea. They have, however, fowls which they eat; but they never eat their eggs.

In spite of this lack of all things, they are happy and content with their lot. They have some songs and dances in tolerably regular time. They sing all

together and make the same gestures, which has a pleasing effect.

They are surprised at the government, the politeness, and the manners of Europe, of which they have no knowledge. They admire not only that august majesty of the ceremonies by which the church celebrates divine worship, but also the music, the instruments, the dances of the Spaniards, the weapons which they carry, and, above all, the gunpowder. They admire also the whiteness of the Europeans; for the inhabitants of this country are all of swarthy complexion.

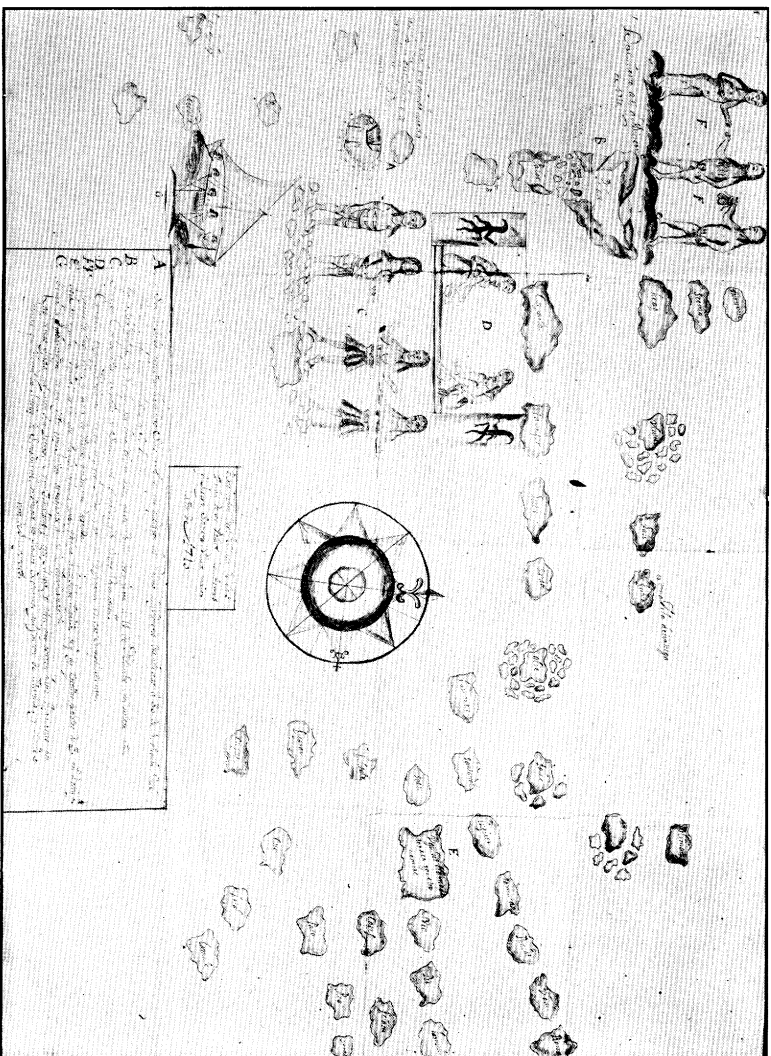
They appear until now to have had no knowledge of God, nor do they adore idols. We have noticed in them only a life altogether barbarous. All their care is to seek for food and drink. They have a great deference for their king and the chiefs of their villages, and they obey them with the greatest exactitude. They do not have regular hours for their meals. They drink and eat at any time and wherever they may be, when they are hungry and thirsty, and when they find wherewith to satisfy themselves. But they eat little at a time, and one of their meals is not enough to suffice for all the day.

Their civility and mark of respect consists in taking the hand or the foot of the one to whom they wish to do honor, and in rubbing it gently over their face. They have among their possessions some saws not made of iron, but of a large shell that is called here *taclobo*,¹ which they sharpen by rubbing

¹ *Taclobo*: the Tagalog name for the enormous shells of the giant clam (*Tridacna*); they sometimes attain a length of five or six feet, and weigh hundreds of pounds. The valves are frequently used for baptismal fonts, and are sometimes burned to make lime. (*Official Handbook of the Philippines*, part i, p. 153.)

against certain stones. They have also one of iron, as long as a finger. They were much astonished on the occasion of a trading-vessel being built at Guivam, to see the great variety of tools for carpentry which were used. They looked at all these, one after another, with much wonder. They do not have metals in their country. The father missionary gave them each a good-sized piece of iron, which they received with more joy than if he had given them so much gold. They had so much fear that it would be taken away from them that they put it under their heads when they wanted to sleep. They do not have any arms except lances or darts made of human bones. They are very peaceful among themselves. When it happens that there is a quarrel among them, it is settled by a few blows of their fists upon each other's heads. But this rarely happens; because, if some wish to come to blows, others separate them and make them stop the dispute. They are not, nevertheless, stupid or heavy; on the contrary, they have fire and vivacity. They are not as stout as the natives of the Marianas Islands, but they are well proportioned, and of nearly the same height as the Philippinos. Both men and women let their hair grow, which falls upon their shoulders.

When these strangers learned that they were to be conducted into the presence of the father missionary, they painted themselves all over the body with a certain yellow color, which they consider a great adornment. They are so satisfied at finding here in abundance all that is necessary to life, that they have offered to return to their own country in order to attract here their compatriots, and to persuade them to enter into intercourse with these



Map of the Palaos Islands, discovered by Joseph Somera, 1710
 [From original MS. map in Biblioteca de Vittorio Emanuele, Rome]

islands. Our governor is much pleased with this design, in view of the fact that he has subjected all this country to the king of Spain; and this would open a wide door for the propagation of the gospel. The eldest of the strangers had once before been thrown upon the coast of the province of Caragan in one of these islands; but, as he found only some infidels who dwelt in the mountains and along these deserted shores, he had returned to his own country, without having known of the abundance and the riches of these islands. He had been more fortunate in this second voyage. The children have already been baptized, and the others have been instructed in the mysteries of our religion. They are very skilful in diving; and it is said that they recently found, while fishing, two large pearls in the shells, which they threw back into the sea, because they did not know their value.⁸

I write you all this, my reverend Father, persuaded that you will be glad to learn news so advantageous to those of your children who have the

⁸ Full accounts of the earlier knowledge of these islands, unsuccessful efforts to locate and discover them, and the organization of a mission to go there for the conversion of the natives, are given in Murillo Velarde's *Hist. de Philipinas*, fol. 375 b., 379; and Concepción's *Hist. de Philipinas*, ix, pp. 151-171. Both these writers use Clain's letter, more or less closely following his account. Gregorio Miguel, in his *Estudio sobre las Islas Carolinas* (Madrid, 1887), p. 32, cites a MS. at Sevilla, dated 1567, written by Juan Martínez (see our VOL. II, pp. 149-150), to show that the Palaos Islands were first seen in 1566, by the captain of the Spanish ship "San Jerónimo," Pero Sánchez Pericón. It was not until 1710, however, that they were actually discovered. The name Palaos (corrupted to Pelew) was given them on account of the vessels, called *paraos* (cf. Javanese *prau*), used by the natives. For description of the islands, their people, and the customs and mode of life of these natives, with a vocabulary of their language, see Miguel, *ut supra*, pp. 32-60.

good fortune to carry the faith into this new country. We have need of workers, for there is much work to do. We hope that you will have the kindness to send some workers to us, and will not forget us in your holy devotions. I am with profound respect, my very reverend Father, your Paternity's very humble and obedient servant and son,

PAUL CLAIN, missionary of the Society of Jesus.
At Manila, June 10, 1697.

MISSIONS IN THE PHILIPPINES

1661-1712

I

GENERAL HISTORY OF THE DISCALCED AUGUSTINIAN FATHERS, BY

FRAY PEDRO DE SAN FRANCISCO DE ASSIS °

[From this work, as in the three preceding parts of the *General History of the Discalced Augustinians*, we translate the important matter relating to the Philippines, with synopsis or mention of matter omitted.]

DECADE EIGHT

CHAPTER I

Mention of the insurrections of some provinces in Philipinas, with the labors that began for our religious. The exemplary lives of some, who died holily in their convents.

The Year 1661

§ I

One insurrection having been put down in Pampanga, another one follows in Pangasinan. Mention of the great sufferings of our religious in Zambales, in keeping their villages duly loyal to God and the king.

° Following is a translation of the title-page of this work:

"General history of the discalced religious of the Order of the

. . . 2. From the beginning of the year 1660, the Indians of Pampanga, a province not far from the city of Manila in Philipinas, incited by many grievous annoyances unjustly caused by the superintendent of timber cutting, which was ordered to be done within their boundaries by the governor of the islands, Don Sabiniano Manrique de Lara, determined to withdraw themselves from the yoke of the Spanish dominion. Although that dominion is very mild *per se*, some subordinate government employes generally make it intolerable, for tyrannically availing themselves of the name of the king, they endeavor to trample everything under foot. The Pampangos elected as leader a master-of-camp of their own nation, one Don Francisco Manyago. He clutched the staff of office as though it were a scepter. Although this insurrection caused considerable fear in Manila at the beginning, since the Pampango nation is so warlike, yet since at the same time, its individuals are the most reasonable of the islands, the governor hastening thither in person together with many religious of various orders (for the religious form the most powerful army for quieting the Indians) the whole disturbance was readily quieted by means of negotiation. Justice was done them in their grievances, while no punishment was omitted, and was administered to the

hermits of the great father and doctor of the Church, San Agustín, of the congregation of España and of the Indias. Volume Four. By Father Fray Pedro de San Francisco de Assis, pensioned lecturer, calificador of the Holy Office, apostolic missionary, father of the province of Aragon, ex-definitor-general, and chronicler of the said congregation. Dedicated to St. Nicholas of Tolentino. Containing three decades, extending from the year 1661 to that of 1690. Zaragoza; printed by Francisco Moreno, in the year 1756."

sedition leaders. Fathers Fray Joseph de la Annunciacion, and Fray Juan de San Antonio, ex-provincials of our Family, together with fathers Fray Carlos de Jesus, and Fray Juan de San Diego, were of considerable aid in that pacification. Those fathers, exposing themselves to not few dangers, had the boldness to go to some of the principal Indians, who were their acquaintances, whom by dint of their persuasion, they succeeded in bringing back to reason. And by their means, discussion and friendly agreements having been introduced, those so harmful insurrections were put down.

3. But at the beginning of their insurrection, the Pampangos had written many letters to the provinces of Pangasinàn, Ilòcos, and Cagayàn, which lie farther north in the island of Luzon. In those letters they assured the inhabitants of those provinces that they had risen with so great force that they had no doubt but that they could gain Manila by force of arms. They besought those people to heed the common cause, for once that the Spanish yoke was thrown off, they could all get together in firm friendship and relations, and maintain their liberty, by electing a king to govern them, or become feared by the other nations under the form of a republic. Those were counsels which like a cancer in the human body, continued to spread in the civil affairs of those provinces, and the majority of the Indians followed them with only too great rapidity. Hence, when the Indians of Pampanga were quieted they were incapable of extinguishing the fire that they themselves had kindled.

4. In Pangasinàn, Ilòcos, and Cagayàn, the flame acquired too much force because of the fierce-

ness of the well arranged combustibles, which were applied by several Indian chiefs, who endeavored, under the specious name of liberty, to oppress in the most intolerable manner the ones who did not recognize the blessings which they had while they had the good fortune to call themselves a part of the Spanish monarchy. But in order that this history may not wander into parts that do not belong to it, we shall treat only of what happened in the province of Pangasinàn; for one part of that province, namely the territory of Zambàles, which is composed of ten villages, was then, and is also at present, cultivated in regard to spiritual matters by our holy Recollect order. On that account our religious necessarily suffered considerably, and they aided in the pacification of the Indians, as did the other holy orders in the villages entrusted to their care.

5. At the end, then, of the year 1660, the insurgents of Pangasinàn elected as their leader an Indian chief of the village of Binalatòngan, one Don Andrès Màlong. He having usurped the title of king, went to Campaña, escorted by nine thousand Indian warriors. This number was increased enormously within a few days; for it was either a boast of the rebels and they so published it, or it was a fact, his army was composed of forty thousand men. An Indian noble, by the name of Don Francisco Sumùlay, a very near relative of Màlong, was living in Bolinào, a village within our administration. On account of that relationship he looked upon his progress as his own, and helped him as much as he could to attain his purposes. He, in order to incite Bolinào and its environs to revolt, spared no effort that he considered fitting. But the father

prior, Fray Juan de la Madre de Dios (or Blancas), opposed him openly and in secret, destroying with cunning whatever Sumùlay wrought deceitfully. No sooner did the restlessness and excited condition of the Indians force him to take prudent precautions, than he caused ten soldiers to disembark from a champan which was on its way to Cagayàn. The latter obeyed him for the captain agreed thereto, and because they knew how much the governor of the islands favored the above-named religious, and that he would approve whatever was done with the latter's advice. The father found himself somewhat ready to offer resistance with those soldiers and with the faithful Indians, who by dint of his persuasions were not few; but he had not sufficient forces to attack the rebels or to seize the wicked Sumùlay, who was the cause of all the disorder.

6. The latter starting a rumor that the hostile Mindanàos were in the neighborhood, imagined that by that false report, and by setting fire to the convent and church at night, the soldiers would flee to the mountains, and that the religious and the loyal Indians of the village would imitate them. It would then follow that, since he would remain behind with the insurgents who were already thoroughly advised, he would be able, after having conquered the port and settlement at his safety, to kill all who were not of his party. Those ideas were not very badly conceived, and had they arrived at the desired success, would have been only too potent for the attainment of his malicious purpose. For, after the surrender of Bolinào, would doubtless follow that of all the territory of Zambàles, and then, the great difficulty of maritime aid from Manila to Pangasinàn, a cir-

cumstance which gave great strength to the revolt. But the same arguments also served the father prior to procure the preservation of Bolinào with the greatest watchfulness. Hence scarcely had Sumùlay fired the edifice, when the soldiers and loyal Indians protecting it, and fortifying themselves as well as they could, maintained the village in the faith for their God, and in the loyalty due their king. It is a fact that while attending to that, the church was reduced to ashes, as were the sacristy and most of the convent. But that was considered as a little loss as it was well employed, so long as the enemy did not attain their purpose.

7. The above happened in the early part of December, when authentic tidings were not known in Bolinào of the insurrection, and only various movements were descried in the Indians which provoked fear. However, they had been compelled to dissimulate through lack of forces. But on the twentieth day of the above-mentioned month, the conspiracy was finally published in the village, and Simùlay and his associates notified the religious in the following manner. In front of the cells of the father prior and of his associate father Fray Luis de San Joseph, were placed two bamboos and at the end of them two cocoanuts. That is a barbarous ceremony of those countries by which to threaten one with decapitation. Simùlay thought that that would be sufficient to frighten the fathers and make them abandon the village, and especially since they now had no soldiers, as the soldiers mentioned above had proceeded on their way. But he was mistaken in his reckoning, for although father Fray Luis was of that opinion, and Indian chiefs were not wanting who

supported him, either because they were already infected with the rebellion, or, perhaps, in order to assure the lives of the fathers, were carried away by their good zeal, the father prior resolved to die rather than fail in his service to God and the king. He did not change his decision, however much the sign was repeated the following day. On the contrary, he considered the time suitable to ascertain and establish with cunning the degree of the fidelity of his parishioners. He convened the Indians in the atrium of the convent, and in eloquent and powerful arguments gave them to understand that God having entrusted their souls to him, he would not leave their land, although he knew that he was to suffer a thousand martyrdoms. "I am not ignorant," he said, "that the aim of those who occasion these insurrections is to apostatize from the Catholic faith, and to return to their former paganism; but for that same reason, I must oppose myself to that with the greatest strength. Go ahead, send news of my constancy to the partisans of the rebel Málóng, if perchance there are any in the village, so that they may not tire themselves with threatening me with death. Assure them that I shall consider myself very fortunate, if I transform myself into a good martyr from so poor a priest. But meanwhile, I warn you, that I shall know by each one's actions who are the rebels and who are faithful; and that accordingly the proper reward or punishment will follow each one, when the Manila fleet, which will not delay, subdues affairs properly." By that effort some who were wavering in their loyalty were confirmed in it, while those who were on the side of the seditious ones did not dare to put their treacherous thoughts into execution.

8. Very soon did experience show the great importance of the firmness of so valiant a religious. For on the night of that same day, after the convent was locked, some of the loyal Indians, who were guarding the outside of it, captured a strange Indian, who declared that he was bringing a message to the father prior, which was to be given into his own hand. He was taken into the father's presence after observing the necessary precautions, where he delivered the message. It was from the father vicar of Lingayèn and contained extensive notices of the insurrection of Pangasinàn which had broken out, the murder of the alcalde-mayor, and the devastation of that part of so flourishing a province. He sent letters for his provincial and for the governor of the islands, in which a speedy relief was asked in order that the sedition might be stifled at its beginning. He besought the father prior to send them quickly to Manila, as it was impossible to send them from Pangasinàn overland. And now it is seen that if the father prior, Fray Juan de la Madre de Dios, had retired from Bolinào as fear persuaded him, that despatch would have been fruitless, and perhaps had those advices been unknown in Manila, Pangasinàn would have been endangered; but since he remained inflexible against the incentives of fear, he was able to take the fitting means, in order that the promptest and most efficacious aid might be obtained.

9. It was not considered advisable to entrust the conveyance of such letters to the Indians of Bolinào, and accordingly it was resolved to despatch father Fray Luis de San Joseph overland to Masingloc under the pretext that he was going on affairs connected with the spiritual administration, but his real

purpose was to deliver the messages to the minister of the said village, in order that the latter might despatch them. The religious exposed himself to evident danger of death; for the village of Agno, through which he could not avoid passing, was almost entirely in insurrection, and because in the stretch extending from the territory of Agno to that of Bâlcac, it was necessary to take the rough sea in a small fishing boat which carried no sail and only one oar with the religious himself at the helm. At last he reached Masîngloc, after conquering so great an obstacle. Thence, not without the most serious dangers, the minister sent the messages to Manila, arranging to have them carried by father Fray Bernardino de la Concepcion, accompanied by three of the most faithful chiefs. One of those chiefs was appointed master-of-camp by the governor as a reward for so excellent a service, another, sargento-mayor, and the third, captain of the militia of his village; and they were exempted for life from paying tribute. And since the father vicar of Lingayèn despatched a second mail to Bolinào in case that the first should fail, the father prior, Fray Juan de la Madre de Dios, despatched the letters in a Chinese vessel which made a way-station there, and was on its way from the island of Hermosa to Manila. But while the army and naval fleet are being prepared in that city, in order to take relief to Pangasinàn, let us return to our villages of Zambâles, in order to see what is happening there, and the dangers by which our religious were afflicted.

§ II

Continuation of the foregoing matter, with the declaration of what happened to our religious in Masìngloc, Cagayàn, Agno, and Bolinào.

10. With the absence of the three said chiefs in Masìngloc, the prior found himself greatly troubled and persecuted, for those who favored the rebellion, who had thitherto not dared to show their faces in public, showed openly the most foul face of treason on the day of St. Stephen. They threw the village into such consternation that if God had not aided it, it would have been impossible to restore it to its former quiet. It happened that, as some Indians had not been at mass on either the eve or day of the nativity, the prior meeting one of them afterward who was most esteemed for his bravery, chid him for his fault, although with demonstrations of paternal charity. He had no intentions of exasperating him, for he knew quite well that the Indian was inducing his countrymen to swell the number of the insurgents by persuasion and threat. But the Indian would not suffer the mild rebuke for that sin, which in other circumstances would have made him experience the severities of punishment, and deeming the occasion very suitable for the revolt of the village, he began to pretend implacable annoyance because the father admonished him. Following this, he became excessively angry, and hurled many insults at the evangelical minister, and concluded by crying out: "Long live Målóng! Death to the Spaniards and the fathers!"

11. By that means the Indian obtained his desires, for more than fifty armed companions gathered

about him. They proclaimed the traitor Màlong as king; hacked the Spanish coat-of-arms which was placed on the site where the *principales* met to administer justice; and they obliged the prior, whom it was a miracle of divine Providence that they did not kill instantly, to retire to his convent, where a guard was established by means of some Indians who could be gathered together, while many others who were of the loyal party, were oppressed in their homes. There they held the prior and those who accompanied them besieged, and did not allow them to communicate with the outside, and refused to allow any kind of food to be taken to them, trying by this means to restrict them to the height of necessity. Within the danger was so much greater, as it was less known by the loyal villages near by which could have sent them some aid. If the rebels did not attack the convent in order to kill the loyal ones, it was because they were afraid of some few arquebuses with which those of the inside threatened them. But they endeavored to set fire to the convent and church three times without being able to succeed, notwithstanding that the material of the building was but little less combustible than tinder, for it was all constructed of wood, bamboo, and nipa. Those who tried to burn that edifice, regarded that as a miracle. Moreover, one can well understand the necessity that they suffered for they had no place whence to get relief, not even for the necessities of life. Consequently they were placed at the will of the divine Providence, who as is His custom with those in tribulation, very quickly declared His patronage.

12. Having passed the time in this way until New Year's eve, it was noted then that a medium-sized

vessel was anchored not far from the convent, and that almost all of its Indians having landed, engaged in a very interesting conversation with the insurgents. On that account, the prior and his men had an opportunity to leave the convent without being perceived, to go to the beach, and make themselves masters of the above-mentioned vessel. They set sail without loss of time in it. Thus freed from their peril they took their course toward Manila. But as they were in need of food, they put in at Bagàc, where they met the three chiefs who had guided father Fray Bernardino, and were now returning to their village. They recounted to those chiefs the deplorable condition in which they were; and considering that the remedy for wrongs generally lies in quickness, they determined to take thirty well-armed Indians, whom the father minister of Bagàc prepared, and who were fortunately at that place; and then retracing their way, to attack Masingloc suddenly. They hoped that if they attacked the rebels when they appeared to be most secure, it would not be difficult to reduce them all to their former quiet. So did it happen, for the season favoring them, they disembarked on the night of the third of January in a bay one-half hour's distance from Masingloc, and went overland to that village. At dawn of the fourth, they surprised the insurgents so completely, that overtaken by fear, the latter could not put themselves in a state of defense, while they even had no opportunity for flight. They were all seized, and the prior, although he was full of grief at the robbery of the sacristy and church, interceded for the prisoners, and succeeded in having all except three set at liberty.

Those three were the leaders and later paid for their wickedness on the gallows.

13. In Cigayèn (a village which had decreased very sensibly in houses and inhabitants since the violent death of the venerable father, Fray Alonso de San Agustin, in the year 1612), was father Fray Francisco de San Agustin, an especially zealous minister, who was applying all the persuasive powers of his eloquence to retaining the remnants of that great settlement in due fidelity to God and the king. But a chief, called Don Antonio Sirray, desired the contrary, in order to keep things in confusion for his own profit. Knowing that he would have no opportunity so long as father Fray Francisco was living, he tried to kill him twice, but the religious man was delivered from his ambushes, for God took his part in a very visible and special manner. In the discussion that the two had together, (one persuading to good, and the other inducing to evil), it happened that Sirray and all his partisans went to swell the army of Málóng. The loyal Indians with their families and possessions went to another village; father Fray Francisco retired to Manila. With that the village was completely abandoned and no more thought was expended on its rebuilding. Such harm do dissensions cause, when, because there is no strength to attack them, they increase to the highest degree when agitated by violence.

14. In Agno (a visita or annex of Bolinào), there was a chief called Don Juan Durrey, a very near relative of Sumùlay, and consequently he was bound up very closely to the rebels. Three Spaniards reached that place on Christmas day, who were

fleeing from the insurgents of Pangasinàn. They showed the Indians a diamond ring, as a reward or payment for something to eat, for they were suffering dire need. But scarcely had they sat down to table, when Dùrrey inhumanly killed them. As father Fray Luis de San Joseph (who was returning from Masìngloc whither he had taken the messages as related above), was passing in the afternoon toward Bolinào, he noted the loud shouts in the village, caused by the feasting and dancing that they made according to their custom with the heads of the three Spaniards. He attempted to approach nearer in order to check their inhumanity, but an Indian instigated by the devil, scarcely saw the father when he threw two spears at him. It was regarded as a miracle that the father escaped the blow and was not wounded. Thereupon our valiant religious lifted up his voice, and loudly condemned so unjust actions in a fervent sermon. According to circumstances, the words on each occasion must have served as does music on the ears of the tiger. But in the midst of the necessary disturbance, he was enabled to tell them with the help of God, such things that Dùrrey with twelve others who followed him, had to leave the village. The others, humble and obedient to the voice of their shepherd, surrendered the heads in order that he might give them ecclesiastical burial. From that moment Agno remained in the greatest quiet, like the sea, which shows the most exquisite quietness and serenity after the most terrible storm.

15. But the place where the rage of the insurgents was felt more was in Bolinào. Màlong regarded its minister, father Fray Juan de la Madre de Dios, with irreproachable hatred, for he was not un-

aware of his great labor in restraining the Zambals. They are so warlike a nation that they have always caused themselves to be respected not only in Pangasinan, which province they glorify as a not despicable part, but also throughout the Philipinas Islands where they have been able to acquire renown through their arms. Having, then, as we have related, sent his associate to Masingloc, he considered that the Indians left him alone in the convent, and that they were going about cautiously talking one with another. He summoned one of the chiefs to him and chid him for that coldness. He learned from the Indian that Don Francisco Caucao, a cousin of the usurping king, had arrived from Binalatongan with an order to the effect that the Zambals should declare against the Spaniards, under pain of being treated as rebels if they did not do so. The Indian added that Caucao was staying in Sumulay's house, and they were afraid that he intended to conquer their countrymen, and that was the reason why they were all so confused. Without allowing, then, the talk which generally increases dangers beyond what they are in themselves, the religious father set out for Sumulay's house in order to have an interview with Caucao, as well as for the purpose of examining and exploring the village, in order to see whether there were any ambuscades about it.

16. After he was assured that there were no strange enemies, he went into the presence of the Indian, who received him seated, without showing him the least sign of respect. The father asked him why he came, and he answered haughtily that his cousin Don Andres Malong, the powerful king of Pangasinan, looking with love on the Zambal nation, and not de-

siring to treat them with the greatest rigor of war, sent him to inform them to recognize him as their seignior, and that on that same day some papers were to be read in the church in which that would be intimated; and that the father was to reply to a letter written by his cousin the king, conceding whatever was asked of him, for if he did not do so, it would cost him his life. Another of less valor than father Fray Juan would doubtless have been intimidated at the sight of such arrogance, especially when it be considered that he could not be sure of the people of the village. But the very injustice of the Indian giving the father courage, he said to the chiefs who had accompanied him: "What is this? What is this? Can it be possible to write of the loyalty of Bolinào, that a traitor, sent by a rebel to God, and the king, publicly induces you to insurrection, and that he remain unpunished? Come, seize him. But no, it is to his advantage to have been found in the house of Sumùlay, whose nobility is worthy of this attention. But I warn you, O wretch, that you do not leave the house which serves you as a sanctuary, and that you do not sow any discord in order to pervert the fidelity of the Zambals, until I have answered this letter of your vicious cousin; for if you disobey my order, and these men do not tear you to pieces, I shall be able to send you to Manila laden with irons and chains, where you will pay for your treason on the gallows."

17. Caucào, Sumùlay, and all the others were full of dismay at hearing the argument of the prior: Caucào, because he thought that the village sided with the Spaniards since the father spoke with so great assurance; Sumùlay, because he imagined the same,

and because he thought also that the prior was ignorant of his evil designs, since he spoke so lovingly to him; and the others, because a rumor that had been shortly before cunningly spread to the effect that a fleet was already coming from Manila to punish those who had declared for Málóng, was thus corroborated. For, they argued, if it were not so, a poor religious would not have the courage to do so much. In short the father prior obtained his wish, namely, to puzzle them all in order to gain time. That done, the venerable man retired to his convent quite perplexed. Opening the letter, he beheld that Málóng expressed himself in the same manner as Caucào had done. He deemed best not to answer it, for while he was thinking how he would dismiss the messenger, he was advised that a champan had just anchored in the port, in which were two religious. He proceeded thither in order to receive them, and was met by fathers Fray Juan de Bergàra and Fray Juan de Físla, who were retiring from Ilòcos, where the rebels were committing innumerable acts of cruelty, and had inhumanly taken the life of father Fray Joseph Arias, all of our observance.

18. He led them to the convent, arranging also that two Spaniards and six Tagálog Indians who could be withdrawn from the champan without their loss being felt therein, should accompany them with firearms. Then seeing that he was in a state of defense if anything should be attempted by the rebels, he had Caucào and Sumùlay summoned. They came at the first notice, but curiosity brought all the people of the village. Then the father tearing the letter of Málóng to pieces in the presence of the multitude, said: "This is the reply merited by such an arrogant

method of writing, and especially since it is the letter of a traitor. You," he proceeded, addressing Caucào, "who have had the shamelessness to come on so insolent an embassy, well merit being sent a prisoner to Manila, and in order that I might do so, God has, perhaps, presented me with this champan. But since you would go to the gallows, the kindness of my estate does not allow me to coöperate in the death of my neighbor. Therefore, get you gone immediately to Binalatòngon, and tell your cousin that I pity him, since the fleet of Manila is already on its way to punish him. Assure him that his threats make me laugh; that his demand for obedience from the Zambal nation is irrational; and that I am sending him his relative Sumùlay in order to increase his army, besides twenty-five Indians of this village, who are, according to appearances, looking upon him with too much affection." The father designated those persons by name, and added with a show of great anger: "Not a single one of those whom I have just named will remain in Bolinào, under penalty that whoever refuses to obey, he and the one who hides him shall be sent to Manila without fail, where justice will punish his resistance." Thus did he say, and then turned his back with a show of so great anger that no one dared not to fulfil his orders. On the contrary, all those comprehended in the order, left the village immediately, for they feared the threat of punishment. By that means after thus getting rid of the evil humors of that body politic that troubled it, it remained in its former health, and the great and estimable blessing of peace followed.

19. After the execution of so heroic an action, the father prior endeavored to welcome his new

guests, whom he provided with all that was needful for the continuation of their journey to Manila. They set sail December 26, leaving Ours behind especially sad, because we were defenseless if the traitor Målóng attempted any new persecution. They were not deceived in their judgment, for the rebel angered at the lack of effect produced by his letter, sent an order to Don Juan Durrey, chief of the hamlet of Agno, to cut off the head of that illustrious man without fail and to send it to him. That chief went to Bolinào accompanied by another valiant Indian, and entered the convent for the feast of the new year. He found the prior praying outside of his cell, and the good religious imagining that he was come to ask aid, began to exhort him especially to be loyal and offered him pardon in the king's name. God giving force to these words, Durrey changed his intention, and refused to kill the father of his spirit. But the Indian who accompanied him, shutting his ears, like an asp, to the voices of health, seeing that his chief would not do the deed, unsheathed a weapon called *igua* in those parts, and approached quickly in order to strike the father. But since the chiefs of the village who had come to speak with the prior on a matter of moment, entered at the same time, the Indian was completely embarrassed and both of them were greatly confused. Thus can God, by so casual happenings, set a hindrance to even greater fatalities, making use of the very occurrence of secondary causes in order to free His servants from the dangers that threaten them.

20. It appears that Målóng was not entirely satisfied with the order that he had despatched to Durrey; for, aroused to anger he also ordered Sumùlay

to return to Bolinào in order to cut off the prior's head, as well as the heads of all the other religious whom he might find there. Sumùlay obeyed instantly, for he was confident that he still had some well inclined to him in the village. He arrived at night, and waiting until the morning of January 3, entered the convent at the time that the venerable minister was about to go out with a rattan staff in his hand in order to go to confess a sick man. Sumùlay attacked him with a short sword, without any waste of arguments. The poor religious, seeing himself involved in the worst kind of a conflict, but infused with valor by the divine hand, beat back the first blows with his cane, and defending himself with it, just as he might have done with the best kind of a sword, seeing that no one came to his aid, passed to the offensive. The cane had a long sharp steel point and the father gave the aggressor so powerful a blow or thrust in the breast, that he brought him to the earth grievously wounded. Then the prior called out, whereupon the village chiefs came up. However, they were remiss in arresting Sumùlay, but on the contrary favored his retreat, and allowed him to go away after he recovered from his wound. Consequently, when the prior returned from his confession (whither he had not omitted to go, despite all the confusion), Sumùlay no longer appeared. The prior had to put a good face on regarding the ill behavior of his parishioners, in order not to put the village in a worse condition, which, at least publicly, did not aid the seditious ones as much as they could have done.

§ III

Arrival of the Manila fleet which was aided by our religious. Destruction of the rebels.

21. Having now related what happened in the villages of Zambàles, and the dangers which our religious suffered, let us turn our eyes toward Manila, and see what preparations the government was taking in order to meet so many depredations. Scarcely had father Fray Bernardino de la Concepcion delivered his messages, when Don Sabiniano Manriquez de Lara, governor of the islands, with extraordinary quickness mustered an army of two hundred Spaniards, besides four hundred other soldiers, consisting of Pampàngos, negroes, mulattoes, and mestizos. As general he appointed the master-of-camp, Francisco de Esteybàr, a Visayan noble, who in addition to his credit as so fine a soldier, appeared a most observant religious in his habits. He was ordered to march overland to Pangasinàn without loss of time. A fleet consisting of four champans, two galleys, and six medium-sized vessels, which were manned with many good soldiers, and a goodly supply of all sorts of firearms were also prepared. This fleet was put in command of General Don Phelipe de Ugalde, who was ordered to set out on the voyage at once, and go to the port of Bolinào, where he was to confer with the father prior, Fray Juan de la Madre de Dios, whose counsel he was to prize greatly. He was advised that he was not to attempt anything ashore, until the arrival of Esteybàr, and their forces were united.

22. Everything was done in so short a time (to the contrary of what is generally written of Spanish aid), that the father prior was advised by the

bantàyes or sentinels at dawn of January 5, that several vessels were seen to be headed to the port, which as was judged from their direction appeared to be from Manila. At nine in the morning the fleet anchored in the port of Bolinào, which is about one-quarter legua from the village. The father prior flew thither, with the rapidity of one who is in search of consolation, for he was most afflicted. Scarcely was he descried on the beach, when the general sent a skiff for him. He was taken by the skiff to the flagship, where he was received with repeated salvos of artillery. All the men expressed mutual joy, which sprung from the bottom of the heart, and were not superficial and born from the habit of deceit. Father Fray Bernardino de la Concepcion returned as chaplain of the fleet, because he urged the father provincial that he might do so, for he considered his absence from the field of battle, where his comrades were accomplishing so much for the crown, dishonorable to his valor in the spiritual militia. When the mutual congratulations which were exchanged between the father prior and those who composed the relief were exhausted, the general gave the former a letter from the governor. It read as follows:

“My Dear Father Fray Juan: Very sad has been the news that we have had here of your Reverence and of the other fathers, and we were even assured that you had all been killed. Consequently, the news from your Reverence served me as a special source of joy, notwithstanding the melancholy information contained therein of those insurrections. I trust implicitly through God that your person will be kept safe for the service of both Majesties. And I hope

that that fleet which I have been able to assemble quickly will keep you safe and that it will have your Reverence's advice which I have ordered the general to receive as you are a person of experience in that district. The army in charge of General Esteybàr is ordered to make forced marches. And next to God, I look for success in all things to your Reverence because you are there. May God preserve you, etc. Manila, January 2, 1661.

DON SABINIANO"

23. The general and the prior then discussed many points in regard to the order that was to be followed in the war. It was known that the weapons of the insurgents were poisoned arrows which caused death irremediably no matter how small a wound they made. And although there is not wanting an antidote to counteract that danger, yet that secret is known only by certain Indians who refused to disclose it because they desired the insolent multitude to conquer. But the vigilance of our religious had already shown its foresight in a matter of so great weight, and availing himself of a chief of Bolinào, one Don Antonio Dàcap, he had obtained from him the recipe for making the antidote; and he had even prepared a large quantity of it, which he gave to the general, in order that the latter might distribute it among the men of the fleet, so that they might suffer no harm from the arrows. Ugalde asked for some things which could not be prepared in Manila on account of the haste [of their departure]: namely, bamboo and cowhide for making parapets, small boats for use in shallow water; rice for the crew; spears such as the Indians use, and certain shields or bucklers which are called *caràzas*, in order to

make use of them in default of the firearms. He was provided with all that he asked immediately. After these arrangements were made, the father prior advised the general, notwithstanding the forced delay of the army as it was coming overland, to go immediately with his fleet to the port of Suàl; for although he could not begin operations until the arrival of Esteybàr, yet his appearance with his vessels in Pangasinàn in sight of Lingayèn, would be of great use in terrifying the rebels, and in encouraging the loyal.

24. The general did so, and although the prior desired to accompany the fleet, the former would not consent, alleging as a reason therefor that since Bolinào was so important a post, its conservation was considered necessary, and the presence of the father religious was inevitable for that, and also to provide the fleet with necessities in the accidents of war. On that ever propitious and sacred day of the Epiphany, after mass had been said, which was celebrated in the flagship by the father prior, the fleet left the port of Bolinào. At five in the afternoon it came within sight of Lingayèn, to the joy of the religious of St. Dominic, who had retired there from almost all of Pangasinàn, as it was the least exposed place. Until that moment they had been besieged by constant frights. The general did not dare to go ashore, as many crowds of people were seen on the beach, who appeared to be hostile; as well as because he had yet no news of the army, without which he had orders not to do anything, and he had no forces for that. On that account the fleet kept tacking to windward on one tack and another for the space of three days. But at the end of that time, a felucca was seen to

cross the bar of Lingayèn headed toward the flagship. The father vicar of the said village came aboard and informed the general that the Indians of that district, although they had risen, were maintained in their insurrection with great difficulty, and that without making pacts or contracts, desired to surrender to the piety of the king, according to the arrangements that he had already discussed with the chiefs. Consequently, in his opinion, the men could disembark without the slightest fear.

25. A council of war was called to discuss the matter. The said father vicar, and the father chaplain, Fray Bernardino de la Concepcion, were given a vote with the others, as was right. All were of the opinion that the general should land with all his soldiers in order that he might place himself in a position of defense for whatever might happen. But that was unnecessary, for the Indians received him with the greatest proofs of surrender, and from that time the village of Lingayèn, which is the capital of the province, was one of the most safe villages. The rebels who were there fled, as they were fearful of punishment. But at that same time, the sedition was very much alive in the rest of the province; for Målóng treated those who refused obedience to him with the utmost rigor unless they had forces with which to resist him. This rigor was seen in his native place Binalatongan, which he reduced to ashes, and allowed his soldiers to sack, as the Indians fearful of the Spaniards opposed his purposes. In Ilòcos and Cagayàn, the provinces lying next to Pangasinàn, was another Indian Don Juan Manzàno, who acted as Målóng's agent, and who was general of his armies. He burned villages, killed

Indians, and reduced everything to the most fatal pass, because he claimed that they denied obedience to our king.

26. On that account, Ugalde knew that the sword would be necessary in order to cut the gordian knot of so obstinate an insurrection. He, believing that since the Zambals were so valiant and were especially experienced in the mountains, where the rebels had their haunts, they could be of great use to the army, wrote the father prior of Bolinào to procure a goodly levy of them, and send them out as soldiers, with the assurance that he would give them help. That famous hero went through the villages of Zambàles with the greatest diligence, and collected about three hundred of the most faithful, valiant, and well-intentioned Indians. They, furnished with their accustomed arms, and the above-mentioned Don Antonio Dàcap, being appointed master-of-camp with the necessary captains (whose titles the general confirmed, as did afterward the governor, as a payment for their good services) were despatched to Lingayèn, where they arrived on the eighteenth of January. And in order that the joy of the fleet might be complete, on the afternoon of that same day, the desired news was received that the army of Esteybàr had entered the district of Pangasinàn without having met any considerable disaster in its difficult march. Thereupon, Ugalde arranged his troops, in order to go to join him. When the two armies were united they began to work together. They attacked Màlong first, and after several engagements, the traitor was obliged to retire together with those who remained of his men, to certain inaccessible mountains, where they imagined that they would be safe.

But here the valor of the Zambals shone forth, for directed by father Fray Bernardino who never deserted them, they pursued the rebels through crag and thicket, so that they compelled them, defiling gradually one after the other, to surrender. Finally Málóng himself fell into an ambush which was boldly set for him, and he was seized on February 6, whereupon the Pangasinàn war ended.

27. But in order not to leave this matter without conclusion, we must add that our army, immediately increased by some companies of Pangasinans (a nation that declared itself entirely favorable to the Spaniards as soon as Málóng was defeated), resolved after holding a council of war to go immediately to Ilòcos for the purpose of destroying Manzano. But he with few men because many had been lost in several frays, retired to some desolate places where he built a fort. Our captains attacked him, however, full in front, and inspired by their example the soldiers and Indians, and conquered him. Many of the enemy were slaughtered, and we on our side did not fail to lose many, because the resistance was especially obstinate. Manzano escaped thence with some few of his men, and hid in certain mountains, but the Zambals, Pangasinans, and Cagayans pursued him, and finally, the justice of our arms prevailed. For, in order that no spark might be left which might kindle a new fire, he was also seized on March 22. Thus was that difficult war ended, which had caused Manila many terrors, for it caused not a few fears to the Spaniards. Thereupon, the provinces continued to become pacified. The governor Don Sabiniño, in obedience to the action of the royal Audiencia, despatched a commissary-general of causes, so

that, forming a tribunal together with Esteybàr, Ugalde, and other necessary ministers, he might make a process in regard to those who had been most active among the rebels; and after giving such persons the necessary punishment, publish a general pardon, which would comprehend the remainder. It was reported then that the judges proceeded with too great rigor, but I should not be so bold as to impute that guilt to them, for they aimed to spread a warning, without it ceasing to be very necessary.

28. The least thing that was seen in the disorders of so unjust a rebellion was the deaths that were caused, notwithstanding that they were numerous. There was seen vengeance clothed with zeal; ambition usurping the staff of justice; tyranny proclaiming liberty; treason applauded with adoration; and he who never knew the law of reason, making laws. There were seen thefts, conflagrations, profanations of the temples, persecutions, scorn, and the evangelical ministers killed sacrilegiously; the Catholic religion abandoned in great part; and the door opened to apostasy and infidelity. For what time, then, is the purpose of inexorable justice, if it is not applied at such a time? That was no sickness that could be cured by mild means when only iron and fire were found capable of reëstablishing that vast body in health, rigor exercised there being a preservative medicine for the rest. And if, perchance, any innocent one paid what he did not owe, one must reflect that public vengeance was inflicted by the hands of men, who, although they try to work with equity, are after all only men, and that they would cease to be men, if they proceeded without the least defect in all things. At last among many others who suf-

ferred the last punishment, Málóng was shot in Lingayèn, Caucào hanged in Binalatongan, Sumùlay in Bolinào, Sìrray in Masingloc, Dùrrey in Agno, and Manzàno, in the village of Bacàrra, killed himself in order to escape the hand of the hangman. But if some of them left the marks of treason in the Zambal nation, which is ever valiant and loyal to the king, most of them in number and rank, washed away that stain more than clean. Everything yielded the great praise to the discalced Augustinians, who were able, by their exhortations, to restrain and maintain the loyalty of so many Indians of their districts, despising for that purpose many perils.

§ IV

Relation of the insurrection of the Sangleys or Chinese and how our religious aided in bringing about peace and victory.

29. Outside the walls of the city of Manila, under the cannon of the plaza, there is a very thickly populated settlement called the Parián, where a large number of Chinese live. Those people are known there under the name of Sangleys. Although heathen they have been allowed to reside there for the sake of commerce and because they are employed in almost all the mechanical trades. It cannot be denied that that nation fomented and maintained with aid and cunning the rebellions of the Indians which we have just related. That is apparent, because, when the alcalde-mayor Don Francisco Pulido was killed in Pangasinàn, some Sangleys were found among the rebels, who contrived that under cover of the small boats they might capture the large vessel where the alcalde-mayor was defending his

life very gallantly; and on the arrival of our naval fleet to explore the beach of Lingayèn, there were seen there many armed men, consisting of Sangleys and Indians, as is affirmed by Father Santa Cruz, in volume 2 of his Dominican history of the Philippines.¹⁰ But it is still more fully shown by the many bodies of Sangleys which were found in the field whenever there was an engagement with the rebels, for on all occasions they served the Indians as auxiliaries. Let us examine the motive for the Chinese taking part in a war that concerned them so little.

[Here follows a brief description of China and an account of the victories of the Tartars about this time, the alliance of the pirate Kuesing with the legitimate Chinese king Junglie, and following the latter's death, the retreat of the pirate to Formosa whence he expels the Dutch. His design to make the conquest is also related, and his embassy by Father Victorio Riccio to Manila, demanding "prompt vassalage, and a huge tribute from the islands, and threatening the most bloody war if Spaniards and Indians did not obey this obligation and recognize him as king." The Chinese in Manila, hating the Tartars and favorable to Kuesing, begin to raise disturbances. Their anger is also further aroused by a commercial treaty between the Spaniards and the Tartar emperor of China. But little attention is paid to the Chinese of the Parián, however, but both interior and exterior fortifications are strengthened and constructed in case of an attack by Kuesing. The narrative continues:]

¹⁰ A sidenote at this point in the original is as follows: "*Historia de la Provincia del Santo Rosario*, volume ii, book ii, chapter xv." The reference is of course to Baltasar de Santa Cruz's book.

34. For this purpose some scaffolds were built outside the wall so that the pioneers might work comfortably. This, which was a means for fortification, might, had not the divine aid intervened, have been the cause of the loss of the city, the center of the faith in Assia and a firm column of the Catholic religion. For the Sangleys determined with the utmost secrecy not to let the opportunity slip, but, on the contrary, to seize time by the forelock, and to climb in great numbers by night by means of those scaffolds which were not guarded in proportion to the danger. They thought that if they did so, and first gained the wall by an unexpected and furtive rush they could obtain the mastery of the city immediately without any opposition. In fact they would have planned well had it not been that God tied their hands. It happened, then, that the father sacristan of our convent going down one morning to arrange the altar of the Santo Ecce Homo (an image of which mention was made in volume iii,¹¹ as well as the great devotion that Governor Don Sabiniano had for it), found at its divine feet a message reading as follows: "Governor, guard thy city, for they are trying to take thee by surprise." The sacristan immediately put that message into the hands of the father prior. The latter, considering that no one had to hide himself in order to give such advice, (for, if it were true, any person would be assured of a not small reward), he formed the concept that that notice came from the hand of God; and above all that it would be well to inform the governor of it.

¹¹ A sidenote in the original refers to volume iii of the *Recollect History* by Santa Theresa, Decade vii, book i, chapter iv, section vii, folio 241, nos. 507-515. The Philippine portion of this book appears in our VOL. XXXVI, pp. 113-188.

For where there are so many enemies, the most careful watch is none too much.

35. Consequently, he took the message to the governor, to whom he told the manner in which he had found it. The prudent superior not only esteemed the caution, but he doubled his care and vigilance by visiting the walls and sentinels hourly. But on the morning of the following day, another more detailed paper was found in the same place, which read as follows: "Governor, guard thy city. Remove the scaffoldings from the walls, and do not trust anyone, for the enemy are very near thee." The father prior also took that message to the governor, alleging that because of his quality as a good vassal, he could not avoid giving him that annoyance. But the governor was not annoyed but instead thanked him again and again, and in his presence had an adjutant, one Don Joseph Zamora, summoned, and ordered the latter to remove the scaffolding of the walls, and double the guards in all the posts. It was afterwards learned how important the arrangement that has been practiced had been, for it was discovered when the deserved punishment was meted out to the insurgents that the surprise of the city was to have been attempted on the night following that day, but that they had not succeeded because what was to have served them as a ladder had been removed.

36. The Sangleys seeing the destruction of their designs, resolved, at the beginning of the year 1662, to arm suddenly one day, with the weapons which came first to hand, and to take the city openly, for they trusted too much to their valor. There is a gate in the city called the gate of the Parián, which gives

on the Sangley settlement, and innumerable numbers of that nation enter the city through it hourly. They would find it easy if some of them were to make themselves masters of this gate, for the others to enter the city armed. By a special Providence of God, as brother Fray Diego de Santa Ana, one of our religious lay-brothers, went to adjust an account with a certain Sangley, on the morning of the day on which they had resolved to make the attack, he observed that the Chinese were in great disorder, and he even heard some words indicative of arrogance, and that they were premeditating some sedition. The brother understood the Chinese language somewhat, and having conceived the said suspicion, he went about the Parián carefully and joined in conversation cunningly with several Sangley acquaintances. By that means originated the confirmation of his fears. He advised a captain of everything, who took him into the presence of the governor so that he might inform the latter. Upon receiving that information, the guards of the gates and of the walls were doubled without any confusion, and most opportune orders were given secretly for the artillerymen and soldiers to be prepared to resist any attack.

37. Scarce six o'clock could have struck, when the Sangleys advanced to the gate of the city in a confused mass, with such violence that doubtless they would have gained it, had our men not been so prepared for its defense. With the regular discharge of the artillery, and with the muskets of the guards, many of them were killed. At that misfortune the others retired as furiously as they had begun the attack. But honoring our discalced religious greatly

the governor was wont to say whenever he saw brother Fray Diego, that next to the patronage of the Santo Ecce Homo, the defense of the city was due to his opportune advice. The enemy having been repulsed in this manner, a portion of them, about two thousand, threw themselves into the river in order to cross it. About three hundred of them having perished there, the others fled to the mountains. As they passed it, they left our convent and church of San Sebastian reduced to ashes. Its building had been finished but a short time before, as it had been burned during another insurrection. It could not but cause time and trouble to reduce those rebels, but it was accomplished at last although accompanied with the shedding of much blood. They were pursued on one side by the Pampango Indians and on the other by the Zambals, who were led and captained by our religious. The remaining Sangleys, who reached the number of ten thousand, took their stand on the field in front of the walls, thus causing not a little anxiety to Manila. But they were so disposed that, anticipating a general pardon, conceded by the governor, with the exception of some few leaders, before nightfall they were all subdued, and that troubled sea was totally calm.

38. Father Palanco,¹² a Dominican, declared very truly in the memorial which he presented to the king, on that rebellion of the Sangleys, "that all the Orders worked and aided with singular vigilance on that occasion exposing their lives to the service of both Majesties." For the individuals of all the orders

¹² Juan Polanco (*not* Palanco), was a native of the Burgos mountain region, and professed in the Dominican convent of Valladolid, July 13, 1639. As he showed evident signs of a brilliant

endeavored to excel, as ever, in their zeal and deeds, now by taking arms to go to the defense of the walls, just as the most ordinary soldier might do; now imploring divine clemency with supplications and prayers; and anon assisting with advice and information. But there is no doubt that, as is inferred from the abovesaid, our Recollects had a great share in that victory, and that they shared considerably in the dangers of the war. Thus are they able without failing in their obligations as evangelical ministers, to serve their earthly king on all occasions, as professors of both militias.

[Sections v-vii relate the lives of various Recollects, both priests and lay-brothers, who died in Spanish convents at this time. No one of them had been in the Philippine missions.]

CHAPTER II

Our province of Philipinas extends its apostolic preaching to the districts called Contracosta [i.e., the opposite coast]. Father Fray Agustin de San

mind he was sent to the college of San Gregorio of Valladolid, after graduating from which he returned to the convent as lecturer in philosophy. Thence he went to the convent of Trianos as master of students, but later joining the Philippine mission arrived at those islands in 1658. Destined for the instruction of the Chinese he was sent to the Chinese missions as soon as he had mastered the language. His two years in China were years of continual suffering, imprisonment, and torment. Recalled, although against his will, to become procurator for his province in Madrid and Rome, and to act as definitor in the general chapter, he gave up his mission work. Always of a humble and obedient disposition, when he was ordered to return immediately to Spain on one occasion after he had just conducted a mission to Mexico, he obeyed without hesitation, but he had scarcely reached the convent at Sevilla, when he died, December 2, 1671. At the chapter held at Rome 1668, he petitioned the beatification of the Japanese martyrs. See *Reseña biográfica*, ii, pp. 1-3.

Ildephonso, a learned and holy religious, dies in Tobòso.

The Year 1662

§ I

The missions of the Contracosta, whither the preaching has spread, are received into our province of Philipinas, and four convents are founded.

64. [The Philippines, says our author, may be regarded as the limits of the earth, and hence the text of Isaias xviii, 2, may be regarded as spoken of the Philippines, in which the gospel is to be published.]

65. In obedience to the insinuation of that text, even before the roots necessary for its subsistence had been fixed our discalced congregation despatched apostolic missionaries to the above-mentioned islands, in order that they might be illumined by the splendors of the evangelical doctrine, and enriched by the examples of its angelic perfection. It was not content with that first squadron, for the undertaking commenced has been prosecuted at various times, and a great number of its sons have been sacrificed to an undertaking as arduous as useful. We have already seen in the preceding volumes, the greatness of their actions in the conversion of the most terrible peoples of that archipelago, in Zambàles, Carahaga, Calamiànes, and the islands of Romblòn. In this volume we shall treat of the spread of the faith, which was extended into other villages, a proof that new zeal has ever been gathered, also born of the salvation of their neighbors. But at present we shall speak of a new field, which was handed over to the cultivation of our ever sure workers in the island of Luzòn and the Contracosta of Manila. And al-

though that field was abandoned afterwards for lack of evangelical ministers, there is no reason why endeavors so meritorious should be forgotten. Let our pen, therefore, be busied in the relation of these labors.

66. The island of Luzòn, which is the largest and chiefest of the Philipinas, has the appearance of an arm somewhat bent, according to the description of father Fray Juan Francisco de San Antonio.¹³ It has a circumference of more than four hundred Spanish leguas, and lies between twelve and nineteen degrees of latitude. Not far from the point of San Tiago, which we shall pretend to be the elbow of this arm, journeying thence toward cape Bogeador, lies the great bay of Manila, in the center of which this city is located. It is the capital of all the possessions of the Spanish scepter in these islands. Lapping the walls of Manila is a large river which empties at that place into the sea. By it one ascends to the Lake of Bay, and on the opposite shore of that lake one finds the village of Sinilòan. Thence to the port of Lampòn, which is located on the Contracosta of Manila, and comes to be as it were, inside of the arm, one need only pass the mountains of Daraètan, and Cabòan, which is a crossing of five or six leguas. Consequently, in order to go by sea from Manila to the port of Lampòn, one must sail about one hundred and forty leguas; but by ascending the river and crossing over the lake to Sinilòan, and crossing the mountains of Daraètan and Cabòan there is scarce twenty leguas of distance.

67. In the environs, then, of the port of Lampòn,

¹³ A sidenote in the original at this point refers to the *Chronicas* of San Antonio, i, book i, chapter xvii.

following the coast opposite the bay of Manila, are the districts of Binangonan, Balèr, Casiguran, and Palànan composed of various villages and collections of huts. The first three belonged at first to the alcaldeship or province of Mindoro. Since in the year 1588, the discalced Franciscan fathers Fray Estevan Ortiz and Fray Juan de Pòrras were destined to that jurisdiction, they gathered most seasonable fruits in the above-mentioned districts, having sown there the seed of the Catholic name. However, having been called to other parts by their obedience, they could not further the Church in those districts, much as they desired it. The venerable martyr, Fray Francisco de Santa Maria, completed the perfection of the work, by forming the three above-mentioned missions with a sufficient number of the faithful who were withdrawn from the darkness of paganism by the influences of a zeal so seraphic. Afterwards other workers of the same family extended their missions down the beach toward the province of Cagayan or Nueva Segovia, and founded the village and district of Palànan. With that there were four missions situated on that Contracosta, and the Franciscan province kept the administration of them in their own hands for many years. They hoped that, although there were but few people and conveniences, as the mountains which were peopled by pagans were near by, they could continue ever to increase the flock of Christ, as they did do without ceasing, the sword of the evangelical preaching fencing with the advantage gained by repeated triumphs.¹⁴

68. But since in this time with which the history

¹⁴ A sidenote of the original reads: "All this appears from Father Fray Juan Francisco de San Antonio, *ut supra*, book ii, chapter xviii, folio 364, and chapter xix, folio 372."

is concerned, the boat of the above-mentioned province found itself with a great quantity of fish in its nets, and with few fishers in its number for the support of the work, they called to their aid the individuals of our holy province. Nothing more than a sign was necessary to make them hasten thither, expressing their thanks for the opportunity. Although I have been unable to ascertain the year with certainty, I have foundation for the conjecture that in the chapter celebrated in the year 1662, the Franciscan fathers invited our Recollect family to take the above-mentioned missions of the Contracosta. They alleged that they were unable to attend to so many villages, whose care devolved upon them, because of the lack of religious. They promised to cede those missions to the Recollects, and not to retain any right of reversion. Those missions were not very desirable, both because of the wretchedness of the earth, and because of the small number of tributes that they contained. For, although they had increased greatly with the new conversions, they only contained 4,800 Christian souls in the year 1738, as was asserted by the historian of that seraphic province.¹⁵ But our Recollect order has obtained a writ which was gained in Philipinas to occupy the least profitable posts so far as earth is concerned, but the most meritorious in the heavens. Consequently, those zealous fathers received that work immediately, and forthwith assigned evangelical ministers to cultivate the new vineyard, increasing the rational vines in it with the care and zeal which the seraphic workers had managed to exert thitherto.

¹⁵ A sidenote of the original refers to San Antonio, i, book i, chapter lv, folio 220, and chapter lvii, folio 224.

69. In consequence of this, the province chose fathers Fray Benito de San Joseph, Fray Francisco de San Joseph, and Fray Clemente de San Nicolàs, with three others whose names we have been unable to discover. They took formal charge of the districts and founded the following convents. Near the bay and port of Lampòn, somewhat inland toward the mountain, is located the village of Binangònán, and there the first house and church was established with the title of San Guillermo. Two religious were left there. The Tagálog language is spoken in that territory, although it belongs to the province of Tayàbas and to the bishopric of Camarines, or as it is called, Nueva Càceres. The ministers assigned to that village attended to various scattered collections of huts along the bays of Lampòn and Umirèy, as well as to the reduction of the infidels which extends along the neighboring mountains for the distance of twelve or fourteen leguas. Going thence following the coast to the north, one meets the river and village of Valèr. Another convent was founded there, titular and patron of which was St. Nicholas of Tolentino. It belongs to the same language, province, and bishopric, as the other. Only one religious was stationed there, although afterward, according to the times, two lived there. They tended to the mission which was very laborious because of its size, and labored in the conversion of the Aetas, heathen of the neighboring mountains, which allow passage from Valèr to the province of Pampànga through the territory of Patabàngan and Santòr, by a not long, but very rough road.

70. Sailing along the same coast toward Cape Engaño one comes to the bay of Casigùran, which

has a circumference of twelve leguas. On its shore is located the village of the same name. The third convent was erected there and was given the title of our father St. Augustine. It belongs also to the Tagalog language, the province of Tayàbas, and the bishopric of Camarines. Two religious resided there generally, and sometimes three, for they extended their administration to many leguas of coast, and their zeal for the spread of the faith to the extensive mountains near by, which being filled with Aètas, blacks, and Calingas heathen gave worthy although most toilsome occupation to the messengers of the law of grace. From one extremity of the bay of Casigùran, the point called San Ildephonso protrudes three leguas seaward. At its head end the province of Tayàbas and the bishopric of Camarines. Having doubled that point, and after one has navigated ten or twelve leguas northward one comes to the village and district of Palànan, which belongs to the bishopric and province of Cagayàn or Nueva Segovia. The fourth convent is founded there, and bears the title of Santa Maria Magdalena. And although all the religious who could be assigned to that mission illumined it, considering the lack of them from which this holy province usually suffers, yet notwithstanding this, it could always be said that the harvest was great and the laborers few. For besides the Christians already reduced, the fathers had to contend with an innumerable number of heathen who overran the neighboring mountains for a distance of more than thirty leguas from the point of San Ildephonso to Cape Engaño.

71. I assert that I have several times heard from fathers Fray Valero de San Salvador and Fray Sil-

vestre de la Purificacion (who passed a considerable portion of their well-employed lives in those missions, and whom I knew in Manila, and who attained a venerable and exemplary age) that from the admission of that territory by our province to the year 1704, the multitude of infidels who were turned by the preaching of our brothers from the unhappy liberty of paganism to the mild yoke of the Catholic faith, was vast. For, notwithstanding that there were three or four epidemics in all those villages in the above-named period, which occasioned the death of an excessive portion of the old Christians, the settlements were replaced by those newly converted. Consequently, the lack was not observed, for the same number of tributes were collected for the king during the latter years as during the first. This same thing is attested by the documents and depositions that I have before me, which designate the Recollect religious who lived on the Contracosta with the character of laborers in the living missions because of the many souls that their apostolic zeal drew to the sheepfold of the Church.

72. But notwithstanding that, the fruit must have caused entire consolation as it was so visible, and given greater earnestness to continue. That fatal interruption of missions in which no workers of our Recollect family passed to Philipinas from España from the year 1692 to that of 1710, having occurred, the province found it impossible to give, as it had done hitherto six or eight religious for those missions because their exhaustion made them needed for other missions. Although our brothers were more than men in their zeal, in material work they could do nothing more than men. Therefore, it was impos-

sible to look after so great an employ as they had in their charge, since they had so few subjects. And already it is seen that if necessity obliged them to abandon any district, it must be that of the Contracosta. They did not regard that as a conquest proper, but as received in trust. It was so, for in the provincial chapter held in the year 1704, after that apostolic province had possessed those doctrinas and convents for more than forty years, it was resolved to abandon them all, and return them to their first masters, the religious of St. Francis, as they could not attend to their administration. Those seraphic workers, learning the reason, took new charge of those souls in order to attend to them with the bread of the instruction. On this account, the above-mentioned convents do not now belong to the order, and the villages of the Contracosta are not in our charge. But the narration of the so plausible readinesss practiced by our oldtime heroes has been deemed indispensable. In due time, namely, the year 1703, when the prodigious life of the venerable mantelata ¹⁶ Juana de Jesus, whose virtue sprang from the teaching of our religious, is related, one will see that with that fruit alone all their evangelical attempts can be considered as well employed.

[The second and last section of this chapter deals with the life of Fray Agustin de San Ildephonso, who died in the convent of Toboso, Spain, during this year 1662. He was never in the Philippines.]

[Section i of chapter iii treats of the seventh general chapter of the order, which was held in Alcalá de Henares in 1663. Sections ii and iii narrate the

¹⁶ So called perhaps from the long robe probably worn by women who were allowed to take partial vows.

life of Fray Juan de San Antonio, an ex-provincial of the Philippines. Born of a noble family in Granada, he early showed great precocity and attained proficiency in his studies while very young. Being strongly called to the religious life he entered the Recollect convent at Granada, September 13, 1617, at the age of twenty and professed the following year. After a short course in theology he went to Mexico in 1619, whence after another course in theology in that city he was sent to Manila, where he was ordained priest after a third theological course, in 1621. The following year found him master of novitiates in Manila convent. Although his parents obtained permission for him to return to Spain, in 1624, he preferred to remain in the field which he had chosen. That same year he was prior of the convent of Igaquet and was later occupied in many missions, especially in Calamianes. In 1635 he was elected definitor, and desirous of preaching the gospel in Japan, made two attempts to penetrate that empire, both of which were failures, the second time sickness not even allowing him to leave the Philippines. He was elected prior of Manila convent in 1638 and after his three years' term worked again in the missions of Calamianes and composed two books in the language of that district, one of moral sermons and the other an explanation of the catechism. In 1644 he was elected provincial almost by acclamation. His term was a busy one, and a number of churches and convents were erected during it. During the disastrous earthquake of 1645, he rendered distinct service. He began the repair of the Recollect church and convent of Manila, which had been partially destroyed by the earth-

quake. At the end of his term he retired to his cell in Manila, but became implicated in some way with the civil-religious troubles that rose during the governorship of Diego Faxardo, and he was arrested in 1651 and sent to Marivelez. With the change of government, he returned to Manila, and then retired to the Cavite convent, where he died from an illness in January 1663. He was pure minded and austere in his devotions. The fourth and last section of this chapter narrates the life of a Recollect who died in 1663 at the convent of Zaragoza, Spain.]

[Chapter iii recounts the lives of three Recollect religious who died in the year 1664, only the first of whom was in the Philippines. This was Fray Joseph de la Anunciacion, and his life is discussed in the first two sections. He was born in Madrid and took the Recollect habit in that city, October 8, 1615. He was chosen for the Philippine missions and arrived at Manila in 1623. Most of his work in the islands was as Spanish preacher, and his work lay principally in the convents of Manila, San Juan, San Sebastian, Cavite, and Cebú. He did considerable work among the native Filipinos, the Chinese, mestizos, negroes, and mulattoes, ever in the Spanish language, but he was able to adapt himself well to their degree of intelligence. His preaching was especially effective in the city of Cebú which was more densely populated in his time than a century later. His influence was far reaching among all classes. Twice he was elected provincial of his order—April 8, 1635, and May 7, 1650. His terms were active and productive of good work. Recollects began their work in the island of Romblon under his directions, and he attempted to send mission-

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aries to Japan. During his term also Recollects were successful in pacifying many disaffected districts. His death occurred in the Cebú convent of which he was prior at the time.]

CHAPTER VIII

Treating of the hardships endured by our religious in Philipinas, because of various persecutions that occurred in our fields of Christendom.

The year 1668

§ 1

Abridged relation of the persecutions of our holy faith in Philipinas, from the year 1640 to the year under consideration, 1668, and which are not mentioned in the preceding volumes.

307. He who would like to know what manner of province is ours in Philipinas and its height of love to God and its neighbor, which that Lord has given to it, who is so well able to inculcate charity, must not be governed only by the immense zeal of its individuals in alluring souls into the sheepfold of the Church but as well by the continual persecutions which they have suffered in order that they might maintain that field of Christendom in the purity of the faith, despising their lives at each step in order to preserve it. The lack of fear of death, by which those valiant soldiers of the God of armies have sustained the field of battle against all the power of the gates of hell, is doubtless one of the greatest of miracles which divine Providence has hung in its temple in this world, to the no small glory of these provinces of España, that have become such marvels of charity through so good milk, that they consider

and have considered it an honor to suffer and even to die, in order to defend that harassed church. Many events in confirmation of this truth are drawn with most accurate brush in the preceding volumes of this history. By them one may see that our brothers have left us examples worthy of imitation by incessantly placing in practice the highest perfection of exposing their lives to death for the assistance and consolation of certain poor Indians, that they might encourage them in the continual invasions of the Moros. But notwithstanding the great skill that accompanied the painters of so idealistic canvasses, I find in a lower degree not a few pictures worthy of immortality, for without doubt the colors of the notices were lacking, which are so indispensable to form the pictures in the painting of history. I having obtained trustworthy relations of the many misfortunes that assaulted our fields of Christendom and their directors from the year 1640 until the present of 1668, which is under consideration, it would not be laudable to leave such trophies buried in forgetfulness, although the copy, which would have been most accurate if done by the brushes of the other writers, be disfigured.

308. To continue; Don Sebastian Hurtado de Corcuèra, governor of Philipinas, thought that by building and garrisoning some strongholds in Tolò [*i.e.*, Joló], an island which is given over to the perfidy of Mahomet and is the nesting place of the robbers of the whole archipelago, he could restrain its inhabitants by preventing them from going to our villages with their fleets as they had done until that time, with the sequel of innumerable depredations. He put that idea into practice in the

year 1638, after the conclusion of the war with the koran, in the beginning of which when the sword was drawn the scabbard was thrown away. But neither his valor nor that diligence were sufficient for the attainment of his end. For in the year 1640, now by the Joloans themselves, and now by means of the Borneans their allies, and now by making use of their vassals who inhabited the adjacent islands, they tried to find in sea surprises some betterment of their fortune or some havoc by which to temper it. With that object they attacked missions belonging to our reformed order both boldly and treacherously in the districts of Calamiànes, Butuàn, and Cagayàng; and it is a fact that we always had the worst of it in those wars. They committed depredations very much to their liking, with the boldness that their greed gave them and with the severity which their hatred to the evangelical law inspired in them. The captives who were taken in our villages on that occasion numbered three hundred and more. The churches were ruined, the holy images profaned, the evangelical ministers became fugitives in the mountains, the sheep were scattered as their shepherds could not attend to them with their watchful eye, the villages were reduced to ashes, and all of those fields of Christendom became the necessary object of the most bitter lamentation.

309. They did almost the same thing in the three following years, and there was no means of taking worthy satisfaction from enemies so inhuman who, like wild and hellish beasts, destroyed a great portion of the rich patrimony of Christ which had flourished in that country under the care of our discalced order. The devastation was so general that it appears to have been presaged by heaven with very ex-

traordinary portents. For on the fourth day of January, 1640, a volcano suddenly burst forth in the island of Sanguiz, not far from the cape of San Agustín in the island of Mindanao, which showed very rare and unusual results. For the ashes, rocks, and burning material which it cast up traveled for many leguas as far as Zebù. Noises like artillery were heard, which caused the Spanish garrisons to get under arms, and the day grew dark from ten in the morning, so that it seemed pitch black night. The same thing happened in another volcano in an islet opposite the bar of the river of Jolò. There was a furious hurricane in the island of Luzòn up toward the province of Ilòcos in the part where the Igolòtes live. That hurricane was followed by the most frightful earthquake, and the earth swallowed up three inaccessible mountains with as many settlements which were located at the foot of the mountains, and in the space left a large lake was formed. Such was the noise at the dislocation of the huge mass of those mountains, that it was heard not only in all the Philipinas Islands and in Malùco but also in the kingdoms of Cochinchina, China, and Cambòja, throughout a circumference of more than nine hundred leguas. So great was the persecution that it was believed to have been announced by the so great heaping together of surprises and misfortunes.¹⁷

¹⁷ A sidenote at this point refers to Father Nieremberg's *Ocul-ta y curiosa philosophia*, last treatise, folio 431. This book is rightly named *Curiosa y oculta filosofia*, and was published in two parts in Madrid, 1643. Juan Eusebio Nieremberg was born in Madrid either in 1590 or 1595. His father was a Tyrolese, and his mother a Bavarian. Educated at the university at Salamanca, he took the Jesuit habit in the same city in 1614. He became known for his learning and ability and for fourteen years filled the

310. But the time when the Moros gave full rein to their barbaric fury, was from the beginning of the year 1645, for then they were freed from the terror that had been caused them by Corcuera who had just been succeeded in the government of the islands by the master-of-camp Don Diego Fajardo. The arrival also of two ships well manned with Dutchmen at Jolò and which had been asked for by Prince Salicàla, the heir to the scepter, for the purpose of destroying the strongholds which the Spaniards held in the said island, gave them at that time a motive for employing greater power in their piracies. Although the commandant of those strongholds, Don Estevan de Orella Hugalde, caused the enemy to return to their factories badly the losers, and without having obtained the end of their attempt, the Joloans were able, through their protection, to launch three squadrons which filled our villages with fear and confusion. It is no new thing in that continent for the heretics to lend arms to the pagans and to the Mahometans in order to put down the Christian name. A savage end it is to pit themselves for the private ends of trade and in a religious war, on the side of the koran and of idolatry, which they themselves condemn, against the gospel, which they persecute with fury. The three fleets went out then, for their campaign, and not having anyone to oppose them, the

chair of natural history at the royal school at Madrid, and for three years after that lectured on the scriptures. At the same time he was held in high esteem as a confessor, and was solicited by many prominent people as such. In 1642, he gave up teaching entirely because of an attack of paralysis. His death occurred at Madrid, April 7, 1658. He was the author of many works in Spanish and Latin, some of which have been translated into French and Arabic, and other languages. See Rose's *New General Biographical Dictionary*, and Hoefer's *Nouvelle Biographie générale*.

enemy filled their boats with what they called spoils, took about two hundred captives, persecuted our religious as ever, with mortal hate, and destroyed fifteen villages, almost all of them of our spiritual administration, and they filled Calamiànes especially with bitterness and grief.

311. The Dutch were not content with protecting the Moros, in order that they might persecute the name of Christ, but they themselves tried to drive that name from all that archipelago. Among all the disunited members of the Spanish monarchy, which the Dutch have endeavored to cut off from it, (in order that their power might wax more formidable at the expense of another) they have ever cast their eyes on the honorable and wealthy dominion of the Philipinas Islands. That country is such for their designs and trade, that better could not be desired: both because from there they were assured of all the trade of China, Japon, Cochinchina, Cambôja, and the Malûcas; and because they were guaranteed the best woods for the building of their ships that can be found on the whole round earth. For that reason, the Dutch have left no stone unturned in all times if it pertained to the maxim of their desire, as can be deduced from several passages which are to be found in the previous decades and are necessary for the intelligence of the history that is treated in them.¹⁸ The year, then, of 1646, they were seen with fifteen warships. With five of them they

¹⁸ Sidenotes at this point in the original refer as follows: "Volume i of this History [*i.e.*, the volume by Andrés de San Nicolas, for extract from which see our VOL. XXI], decade ii, chapter ix, folio 452; volume iii [*i.e.*, the volume by Diego de Santa Theresa, from which appear extracts in VOL. XXXVI, pp. 113-188], marginal numbers, 233, 257 *et seq.*, 530 *et seq.*, 540, 596, and 649."

besieged the district of Playahonda, while seven of them were stationed in the Embocadero or strait of San Bernardino, and the remaining three filled the islands of the Pintados with fear. Our villages of Masinloc, Iba, Marivèlez, Romblòn, Bantòn, and Surigào, suffered more harm and vexation than usual, of which the greater part touched the religious ministers.

312. Two galleons left Cavite and fought first with five ships and twice afterwards with seven, and obtained three victories which were clearly miraculous. For they destroyed the enemy, without receiving any special damage, and the enemy were compelled to abandon their attempts for the nonce. Although father Fray Balthassar de Santa Cruz attributes all of the prodigy to Our Lady of the Rosary with sufficient foundation,¹⁹ we, while confessing the might of so holy a warrior, must suggest that St. Nicholas of Tolentino had no small part in it, whom the soldiers, persuaded by two Recollects, as is mentioned in volume 3 of this history, who served as chaplains in our small fleet, also invoked as the sworn patron of those seas.²⁰ But under shelter of the Dutch enemy, who continued their attempts with no more success the two following years, the Moros, always emboldened, transgressed all bounds, attacking ceaselessly the villages of the Spanish dominion. For, although Corralat, king of Mindanào, kept quiet during so dangerous a season for reasons of his own convenience, and had even acted as mediator so that

¹⁹ There is a sidenote reference here in the original to Santa Cruz's *Historia*, part ii, book i, chapter xxiii.

²⁰ A sidenote of the original refers here to Santa Theresa's *Historia*, marginal numbers 649 and 651.

Butria Bôngso, king of Jolò should make peace with our arms, which was done April 14, 1646, none of all that was sufficient to give quiet to that field of Christendom. Mahometan perfidy took the pretext that the Joloan Prince Salicàla and Paguyàn Cachìle, prince of the Guinbanos,²¹ and seignior of Tuptup in Bornèy, should refuse to sign the peace. With that excuse those princes, aided in secret by those kings, peopled the sea with boats and caused unspeakable damage to Calamiànes, Camiguìn, and Romblòn.

313. That was not the only fatal consequence that followed from those inhuman premises which were set by the Dutch. For if we had thitherto seen the aliens fighting against the faith, from the year 1649 the very sons of the Church worked for its destruction. The Dutch incited the Indians, already Christian and subject, to withdraw themselves from the mild yoke of Spain, the country which had drawn them from the darkness of paganism, and kept them on the road to salvation. Nor were they deaf to the voices filled with the fraud most difficult to recognize, for since they carried the agreeable sound of liberty, they secretly induced them to undergo the most tyrannical subjection; and God permitting by His secret judgments excessive flights to audacity and shamelessness for the credit of the virtuous and the crown of the just; the most cowardly of nations were seen with surprise and the nakedness of the Indians was armed against the invincible sword of the Spaniards. The insurrection began in the village of Palapàg in the province of Hibabào in the island of Sàmar, whence the good outcome of the first action

²¹ See VOL. XL, p. 179, note 78.

traveling on the wings of unsteady report, found minds so ready throughout the islands of Pintados, that (just as if the counsel were common, and they were only awaiting the signal in order to do it), the temples were burned in many places, and sacred things profaned. The evangelical ministers fled, and the rebels retiring to the loftiest mountains, imagined that they could defend their former barbarity there.

314. Our reformed order had enough things to bewail in those revolutions; for in addition to the tragedies of Linao, which are related in volume 3,²² the villages of Cagayang, Camiguin, Hingòog, Romblon, Banton, and Cibuyan added wood to the fire of the sedition. If the promised help of the Dutch had come over and above the boldness of the Indians, it is inferred that what had taken so many years to conquer would have been lost in a few days. But God who always punishes as a father those who try to serve Him, measured the times so accurately, that amid the echoes of the insurrection, the proclamations of the peace which had been arranged between España and Olanda resounded in Manila. With that the Catholic arms were freed from their chastisement, and all things returned to their pristine quiet. That was not the case with the Moros, who were then and for many years after, the perennial enemies of that afflicted field of Christianity. Barbarously blinded in their treacherous gains as if it were a thing done, they made a practice of going every year to take captives in the islands of our administration, often outraging the temples sacrilegiously and not a single one that was near the beach

²² A sidenote here refers to Santa Theresa's *Historia*, no. 259 ff.

escaped profanation and they utterly abused everything intended for religious worship, with great scorn to the name of Christian. They cut the sacred vestments, into robes and other garments [*capisayos*], and they destined the ciboriums and sacred chalices to the dirty use of their wine, tobacco, and buyo.

315. But it did not so happen, I return to say. For notwithstanding that they were a terror every year from that of 1649 to 1655 because of their piracies, now in some and now in other parts, they remained without the due punishment although so sacrilegious insults demanded it so justifiably. Without fear of our arms, they overran those seas at will, trusting their security to their swiftness; for their boats were built on purpose for piracy, and ours compared to theirs of lead. It happened not once only that they were taken because of carelessness between the bars of the rivers with forces sufficient to make one consider their destruction sure; but they got out laughing on one side or the other, amid the discharge of their artillery. And the forces of Manila, Zebù, Zamboàngan, and Carhàga, which were not despicable squadrons, served no other purpose than to scare off the evil, so that the persecution might be enormously expanded. They carried their insolence so far that two small vessels with but small crews, dashed into the bay of Manila one of the above years, and almost in sight of that capital, seized a caracoa from Iloilo with the rich cargo aboard it. Then they went out haughtily, and no one could take their prize from them, or punish their arrogance. In view of this one may infer how harassed were the

distant villages, and how filled with tribulations were our religious ministers, who ever occupied the most advanced and dangerous posts.

316. It even transcended the tragic representation of so doleful misfortunes, when in the year 1655 Corralàt, king of Mindanào, proclaimed war against the Christian name. He began his treachery by the inhuman murders of two fathers of the Society whom their rank as ambassadors, which is so greatly respected by the law of nations, did not aid. That prince was in Philipinas what Gustavus Adolphus, king of Suecia, was in Alemania, namely, the thunderbolt of Lucifer, the scourge of Catholicism, and the Attila of the evangelical ministers, who never practiced courtesy toward them except when force or some reason of state compelled him so to do. For his private convenience he had pretended that he was peaceful in public during the preceding years. But now with no other reason than his fury, he gave license to his vassals to infest the Christian villages; and they did it like a river which overflows its bed, after having rid itself of the embarrassment of its dikes. He was not content with that, but in order to give greater flights to his impiety, he excused it among the neighboring Moros under the name of a religious war; and under that title he invited to it the Borneans, Tidorans, and Joloans, so that confederated with him into one body they might unfurl the banners of the perfidious Mahomet, without stopping until they utterly destroyed the law of grace.

317. He incited so great an uprising against that straitened field of Christendom that, although the previous persecutions that the Moros had practiced

against it were so inhuman, (as may be seen in the places of this history cited in the margin) ²³ they were all assuredly less intolerable than those which were now incited; for now fury and barbarity were carried to the extreme. That was so fierce that disinterested pens did not hesitate to compare it with the last of antichrist; so persevering, that until the year 1668, of which this history is treating, and the year when the relations which we follow end, there was not a single instant of rest; so shameless that ruin was seen almost at the very gates of Manila; and so universal that but few villages of our administration escaped being the theater of war and the lamentable object of its misfortunes. This is a brief compendium of the tragic events which happened in the Philippine church, which was surrounded on all sides by the waters of contradiction, as is the territory of those islands by the salt waves of the sea. This is a sketch of the cold winds, which, notwithstanding the heat of its climate, parched in great part the wavy exuberance of that leafy garden, so abounding in the flowers of Christianity and the mature fruits of virtue. Let us now consider with the most possible brevity, a concise sketch of the glory which was obtained by our discalced order in return for the hardships which overwhelmed its evangelical workers at so calamitous a time. We warn the reader that we shall follow no other chronological order than chance offers.

²³ The references in the margin at this point are to San Andrés's *Historia*, folios 451, 452; Luis de Jesús's *Historia*, folios 39, 40, 44, 45, 70, 282, 284-295, and 353; Santa Theresa's *Historia*, marginal numbers 250 ff., 366 ff., 519, 522, 534, 599, 603, 615-629, 646 ff., and 740 ff.

§ II

Of the hardships of our religious during these persecutions. The venerable father, Fray Antonio de San Agustin, dies at the hands of the Moros, in glorious martyrdom.

318. In the above-mentioned pillaging,²⁴ which God permitted for so many years, the Moros were triumphant, the Catholic arms rebuffed, the Christian villages without other defense than that of heaven, and the Indians drowned in the sea of tribulations. Moreover, as the sword of the persecutor, also that of greed and vengeance, was moved by the hatred of our holy faith, the direction of its greatest force was toward the sowers of the gospel. Daily did religious who had been driven from their ministries and missions bring to Manila news of entire villages ruined, the outcries of priests who had been captured, and letters which announced the death of others. All was confusion, all lamentation, all chaos, where the enemies of God were trying to elevate their throne in the darkness upon so bloody and confused injustice. It has already been seen that our Recollects had to suffer greatly, since they occupy the vanguard of the army of God in Carhàga and Calamianes; but that was irremediable in so disastrous a storm. The ship was seen to be buffeted hither and yon by the waves; and it was impossible that the sailors should not suffer from the buffeting. The winds were both violent and hostile; the ship could not but be dashed from one side to another. The hurricane was both furious and fierce; necessarily the pilots had to suffer greatly.

319. Our provincials called out for relief, excit-

²⁴ *Subhastación*: literally, sale of goods at public auction.

ing pity by the relation of their churches which had been burned and profaned; of their sheep that had been scattered, and many of them lost; and by their subjects who had been killed or captured, or at the least obliged to hide in the mountains, where deprived of all necessity, they suffered indescribable misery, traveling in the inconveniences and darkness of the night in order to fulfil their obligation as missionaries. But Manila is, as a rule, the place where least attention is paid to the wretchedness of the poor Indians and to the misfortunes of the gospel workers; for, since the citizens are busied in their Asiatic and American trade, the only thing that troubles them is any opposition to their profits. Very few are the Spaniards who risk themselves in small boats to seek profit from island to island; and consequently, they hear of misfortunes, which ought to cause the greatest horror, quietly and without any special disturbance. The passages from some islands to others being occupied and even embarrassed by Moro craft, the latter cause those who sail thither innumerable ruin; but many of the inhabitants of Manila have very little or, perhaps, no feeling. If news arrives that a religious has been killed or captured, some insolent tongue is not wanting to break out with the ballad as infamous as ancient, that the king brings us for this, namely, to suffer and die in defense of the law of God; as if it were compatible with the royal piety to abandon the defenseless ministers of Christ, however much they may expose themselves with heroic mind to endure a thousand martyrdoms. Nothing in short, matters to those people, if it do not touch their persons or interests: neither the misfortunes nor the violent deaths of

their neighbors, nor the outrages of his Majesty's vassals, nor the losses of his royal treasury in the tributes which are lessened by such confusions, because the Indians are lost by the thousand.

320. Although the captain-general tries, as a good minister, to attend to such wrongs, it is quite common that he is unable to do all that he tries; now because of the depletion of the royal treasury, whose funds do not suffice to meet the calls upon it; and now since he must proceed with the advice of the council of war in which those have many votes who understand only what pertains to the exercise of merchants, although they sign their names with military titles. If the vessels in which they are interested are in danger, all difficulties are conquered, for there is no one who does not hasten with vote and money to fit out fleets to oppose the enemy. But if not then each proposition is a labyrinth, whence he who makes it cannot unravel himself, although Ariadne gives him a thread to guide him. Hence it follows, either that squadrons are not prepared of size sufficient to warn the aggressors, or if they are prepared, they set sail when it would be better for them not to, for they only occasion the vassals new trouble. Let no one imagine that the matter of these two numbers includes imagination or lack of truth. This is proved by authentic documents in what touches the past; while so far as the present century is concerned (during which the same persecutions have been repeatedly shown), experience has given me knowledge of such injuries, when I, as procurator-general and secretary of the province of Philipinas, found that I had to solicit relief for the persecuted Indians and for the afflicted religious. It is also certain that

the same thing happened in almost all the wars of which we are speaking, so that our oppressed missionaries had no other consolation than that of God, in the pains that it was indispensable for them to suffer, and which we shall now begin to relate.

321. We have already mentioned in various parts of this history, that when our Recollects arrived at the Philipinas Islands, in order to illumine them with the splendors of the faith, and to fight like well-ordained astral bodies against the sissara of the abyss, they chose with apostolic strength the most difficult districts, the islands of the most barbaric people, and the places where, if the light of the gospel had shone, it had allowed itself to be seen only in fitful gleams. Hence it is that our ministers are the most exposed to peril and danger among all those of the archipelago; for they are very distant, not only from Manila, but also among themselves from one another, and surrounded by enemies to the Christian name. Each district consists of many villages and even of distinct islands. Since all of them have a right to the bread of the doctrine, which is the only food for souls, the religious, in order to attend to that obligation, has to be in continual movement. He must travel by sea threatened by so many dangers to his life, among frights and chance; and he who considers it of value to endure them and despise them, can only form a just opinion of them. They do this without other profit than the spiritual, enduring to the uttermost penury, and the lack of necessities, in order to teach and instruct certain poor peoples whom they are alluring from the most wild barbarism in order to get them to live like men in a civilized Christian society.

321. Let one add to all the above bodily hardships the lack of one to employ himself in so great charity, to whatever serves in this life as a consolation to the spirit. For there our religious is properly a hermit, although he may live among many people. Now, it is because he is deprived of the company of his brothers, for he is almost always alone in villages that are too large, and the nearest minister is fifteen or twenty leguas away and separated by rough seas, or inaccessible mountains, which render it impossible most of the year for them to have the comfort of seeing one another, or even to have communication with one another by means of letters, in order that they might console one another in their mutual troubles. Now, it is because the Indians make them no company for the blessings that human association brings with it, but serve only for an insupportable martyrdom; for, in addition to the fatigues incumbent on them as missionaries, they must attend to all their quarrels, grudges, necessities, and troubles. For these reasons and others that cannot be expressed at present, the governor of Philipinas, Don Fausto Cruzàt y Gòngora, when addressing the king in a report, did not hesitate to affirm that the discalced Augustinians, even in times of peace, and after the subjection of the villages of their administration, suffer the same hardships as do missionaries in the lands of the infidels. His Excellency, the bishop of Zebù, Don Manuel Antonio de Ocio y Ocampo, was wont to say, as I have heard from his own mouth, and not only once, that if he had authority for it he would not hesitate to canonize any Recollect, who happens to lose his life among the fatigues of his calling, while completely fulfilling his obligation in the

missions of those islands, as is the case with many.

323. And if this is endured in only the hardships annexed to the spiritual administration, what must it not be when the destructive tempests of the persecutions of the Moros, the greatest part of which assail our laborers, happen to come? Then there is no other relief than to flee to the mountains in order to live in passes and caves, seeking their preservation, not so much for their self-love, but because of that for others. There, through lack of food, too much heat, continual rains, and many other discomforts, they are generally so disfigured and so weak that rivaling Job, they only live because of a skin loosely stretched over their bones. How many contract incurable diseases there, who dragging along all their life with them prove themselves to be stages of the greatest pity! How many by trampling under foot evident dangers, in hastening to the consolation of their sheep, to confess the sick, to aid the dying, either gave themselves into the hands of the enemy to be the victims of their cruelty, or offered themselves a willing sacrifice to the precipices of the mountains and to the shipwrecks of the seas! How many, since the world is unworthy of their noble and Christian intercourse, and, it seems, tried to cast from itself, wander for months at a time, naked, an hungered, persecuted, followed on all sides by the shadow of death, without other consolation than that of God, in whose hands they desire to finish their lives, delivering to Him their wearied souls! And how many, finally, obtained the precious crown of martyrdom, after having coursed the sands of so many hardships, which were ended either by the edge of the sword, or by a spear-thrust,

or at the spindle of hardships, or at grief at seeing holy things so outraged, or by the inundations of penalties in atrocious captivities! Mention has been made of many in the preceding volumes, but some who will serve to ornament this volume were omitted.

[In the remainder of this section are contained accounts of several who suffered the martyrdoms above mentioned in their war of the faith, and all of whom are mentioned by Combés in his *Historia de Mindanao*, who is cited at length by our author.²⁵ The first martyr (see Combés, book vi, chapter xiv) is not even named by Combés, nor can Assis give anything more definite of him. He was captured by the Moro pirates (presumably in 1645) and taken to their home. Induced by desire for a good ransom, his captors took the father to the Joló fort, but no agreement could be reached. Father Juan Contreras, then chaplain of the fort, tried to aid him in effecting his escape, but in vain. The captive was thereafter treated so harshly that he became ill, and in spite of a pitiable letter, which aroused great sympathy for him in the Spanish Joloan fort, and spurred on the soldiers to beg that he be ransomed at their expense, he remained in captivity until Alejandro Lopez of the Society went to Joló from Zamboanga and ransomed him for 300 pesos. In 1649 (see Combés, book vii, chapter xii; and Santa Theresa, no. 271 ff.), the father prior of Linao in Caraga, Fray Agustin de Santa Maria, was killed by the insurgents; and in the same troubles the

²⁵ Our author also refers in sidenotes at this place to Luis de Jesús's *Historia*, folios 45, 167 ff., 284-295, and 353; and to Santa Theresa's *Historia*, marginal numbers 328, 522, 534, 648, 741, and 1153.

father prior of Camiguin, whose name is not given, was captured and maltreated. In 1658, (see Combés, book viii, chapter viii), the Moros caused Fray Cristobal de Santa Monica to flee, and killed Fray Antonio de las Missas, or de San Agustin (his religious name). This latter happened while San Agustin was returning from a trip to Cuyo and Calamianes as visitor. San Agustin was born in Manila, his father being Captain Francisco de las Missas, and his mother Fabiana de Villafanne, both Spaniards. He took the Recollect habit July 14, 1612. He served in several important posts, having as early as 1624 been prior of Bolinao and of Cebú. He was sixty-six years old at the time of his death.]

[The remaining two sections of this chapter continue with the persecutions of the Moros and the deaths of various Recollects. The first, Francisco de San Joseph, was born in Jaca, Aragon, and shortly after professing (June 12, 1632) he went to the Philippines. He was soon sent to the Visayans, where he held several important posts. He suffered greatly from the Moro raids for he was compelled more than once to hide in the mountains from that fierce folk. He was elected provincial in 1653 and during his term was a vigilant worker. At the completion of his term he was sent to the village of Cuyo as associate to the prior. His death occurred in the island of Romblón, where he was mortally wounded by the Moros, while endeavoring to repel an attack in the fort built by the famous Padre Capitan. He published an explanation of the catechism in 1654 in Manila, and left numerous manuscript works in both Spanish and Visayan. The father reader, Fray Francisco de San Juan Bautista, was born in Alagon

of rich and noble parentage. He professed in the Zaragoza convent, October 8, 1614, and went to the Philippines in 1619. He read philosophy and theology in Manila, and after the completion of a course in the arts was appointed secretary to Fray Onofre de la Madre de Dios. He served as prior of the villages of Marivelez, Cuyo, Bolinao, Calamianes, and Tandag, during his mission work there learning three languages thoroughly. He was essentially a worker and did not care to remain in either Manila or Cavite, but desired the mission fields where danger was thickest. He did not seek office, and it is related of him that he once delayed his return to the chapter meeting because he heard that there was talk of electing him provincial. Though he was twice definitor, he still sought the hardest work, laboring among both infidels and Christians. The Moros were especially vindictive to him and gave him many chances to acquire merit. Finally he fell sick on the desolate island of Paragua, and after reaching Manila through the efforts of some natives who braved the risks of the Moros, he died in that city. Another active worker was Fray Domingo de San Nicolás, who was born at Alcalá de Henares. The place of his profession is unknown, but he is first met in the Philippines. He labored in the provinces of Calamianes and Visayas, performing marvels until his feet having swollen on account of the damp, he was ordered to retire to Cebú convent. There, however, instead of resting he engaged in the work of the missions, for the laborers were few. He worked in many villages, and finally met his death in consequence of exposure from a shipwreck on the coast of Bohol, whither he had accompanied

a vessel hastily fitted out to secure information concerning a recent raid by the Malanao Moros in Cagayan village. Although some of the other occupants of the boat were drowned, the friar with others was saved by the natives of Bohol, and sent back to Cebú, where he died in a few days. Fray Bernardino de la Concepcion (whose family name was Durán) was born in Madrid, and took the habit in the same city, December 8, 1636. He went to the Philippines in 1651 with Fray Jacinto de San Fulgencio. His mission field was principally in the south, and he served in the villages of Bislig, Cagayan, and Caraga. His work and the necessity of opposing the Moro Mahometans so wore upon him that he became unwell, but still he persevered in his labors for lost souls. The treacherous Mindanaos won over his servant one day in Caraga, and poison was administered through the agency of the latter, who also apostatized. The attempt failed, however, but Fray Bernardino was sent to the province of Zambales for a season. There he was of great use in aiding to quell the insurrection. The quiet that ensued after their pacification not proving to the liking of this intrepid warrior of the faith he begged and obtained leave to go again to the province of Caraga. Resuming his former vigils and labors there, he again fell sick and this time died, being at the time prior of Cagayan. He could speak the Visayan, Tagalog, and Zambal languages. Fray Carlos de Jesus, son of Nicolás Léconte, was born of Flemish parents. After various fortunes he went to Madrid, and although a brilliant life was offered him, for he was a scholar and fine mathematician, he took the Recollect habit in the convent of that city, January

2, 1648, being already at middle age. He also accompanied Fray Jacinto de San Fulgencio to the Philippines in 1651. He worked in Calamianes and Caraga, where his military genius as well as his missionary traits shone out. He recalls the famous Padre Capitan by his exploits, for he drilled and led the Indians as well as looked after their souls, and his name became a terror to the Moros. In the village of Busuagan, however, his native followers fled when attacked by the Moros, and Fray Carlos was forced also to take refuge in a swamp filled with brambles and thorns. For five days (the length of time that the victorious Moros stayed in Busuagan) he remained in the swamp up to his middle in water, and wounded by thorns and molested by swarms of mosquitoes. Having retired to Manila because of illness brought on by such events, his recovery found him anxious to return to his mission field. The prudence, however, of the superiors, dictated his remaining in Manila as prior of the convent of that city which was then vacant. With his old-time ardor he threw himself into the work there, but the effort was too great for one in his weakened state and another illness seizing him he passed away. The lay-brother, Fray Francisco de San Fulgencio, the son of Diego de Covarrubias, was born at Simancas. He adopted the life of a soldier, and after serving in Spain went to Nueva España in the same capacity. Thence he went to Manila as alferez of one of the companies raised for the islands. A religious life appealing to him he adopted the Recollect habit (December 17, 1620), and shortly after his arrival in Manila, he was sent to Caraga to aid the fathers who were laboring in the missions there. At the

time of the insurrection, he was captured in the village of Bacoag, but after four months of almost unendurable captivity, was ransomed. After this he remained several years in Caraga, but was finally recalled to Manila. His life was most active, for he made five trips to Caraga, and three to Calamianes, with despatches or to accompany the fathers going to those posts, and often meeting with Moros on the way, was in continual danger. He was twice wounded and twice shipwrecked. His death occurred in the convent of Bagungbagàn.]

CHAPTER X

Our religious propagate the Catholic faith in Zambàles, a province of Philipinas. Two religious die in España, with great marks of holiness.

The year 1670

§ I

Information is given of the preaching of Ours in Zambàles; and that many Indians came newly to the Church.

396. . . . Some people here in España imagine that the first illustrious champions of our reformed order who went to those countries [*i.e.*, the Philippines], reared and finished the slightly structure of that Church, and that the missionaries, their successors, have been and are quite comfortable, and have no other occupation than to maintain what the first ones built. It is a fact that, according to the philosophic axiom that the conservation is equivalent to a second production, that would not be doing little even did they do no more. But as a matter of truth it must be said that if so holy a province rests

in the conservation of the conquests acquired, it also labors without end in the building and planting of other new conquests. To this point the history has shown many of them,²⁶ and I shall narrate others below. But this year we have the profitable and difficult expedition which our ever tireless and laborious province made into the Zambàles Mountains, for the sake of obtaining not little growth for the Christian faith.

397. The mountains called Zambàles extend a distance of fifty leguas from Mount Batàn to the plains of Pangasinàn in the island of Luzòn. They are peopled by an innumerable race, who defend themselves from the Spanish arms almost within sight of Manila, because of the roughness of the ground, and maintain along with their heathenism, their barbarous customs. Who these people are can be seen in volume i, to which we refer the reader,²⁷ We only warn him that the Indians of whom that volume talks, inasmuch as they live in the beaches and plains extending from Marivèlez to Bolinào, and being, consequently, needed in the trade with Spaniards and civilized Indians, are not so ferocious as those who without these mitigating circumstances, inhabit the rough mountains of which we speak. Not a few natives of several nations are found in that place. Some of them are born in the dense thickets and are reared in the most barbaric infidelity. Others are called Zimarrònes, and have apos-

²⁶ A sidenote reference at this point reads: "See Volume iii of this *Historia* [i.e., Santa Theresa's], marginal numbers 737-742."

²⁷ The reference is to volume i of the series of histories of the Recollect order, the volume by Andrés de San Nicolás, decade 2, chapter vi from folio 419.

tatized from the Catholic faith, after having fled from the nearby Christian villages. There is also an incredible number of blacks who, without God, without king, without law, without civilization, without settlement, live as though they had no rational soul. All of those Indians, notwithstanding that they wage most bloody wars among themselves, generally unite to oppose the Spanish arms, when the Spaniards have attempted their conquest, and stake their greatest reputation in shedding human blood.

398. The evangelical ministers have always fought with the sword of the divine word against that wild forest of men almost unreasoning, and with all the means dictated by charitable prudence, in order to convert it into a pleasant garden by means of the Catholic faith. The Dominican fathers stationed in the district of Pangasinàn, and in the villages called El Partido, which are located on the opposite side of Manila Bay, have always cast their net, and obtained not few hauls of good fish. The Observantine Augustinian fathers have also done the same from their missions in Pampanga, which border the above-mentioned mountains. The fathers of the Society have done the same from the village of San Mathèò, which is situated almost on the brow of the said mountains on the Manila side. And our discalced Recollects, equally with those who have done most, have labored in this undertaking at all times, without despising occasions. They have great opportunity for doing that, for, as a general thing, ten or twelve laborers live in the fifteen reduced villages of the Zambals, who occupy all the coast for a dis-

tance of forty leguas from Bolinào to Marivèlez, and surround all the above-mentioned mountains by the sea side.

399. Thence, then, did the illustrious champions of our holy reformed order generally issue in order to overrun the rough territory of the mountains so that they might seize multiple spoils from the enemy of souls, and direct them to eternal life. As those people are very ferocious and difficult to convert, it was necessary to use gentle methods there, making use of caresses rather than of noise and din. Notwithstanding, on several occasions very many conversions of Indians, Zimarrònes and heathen, who were reduced to villages formed by the indefatigable solicitation of our religious, were obtained. Then, as appears from four letters of the definitory of that holy province, which were written to our respective fathers vicars-general – the first, June 20, 1646; the second, July 2, 1655; the third, June 14, 1658; and the fourth, July 4, 1668 – more than one thousand five hundred souls (at the date of the last letter) had been drawn from the mountains, freed from the darkness of the heathen, and illumined with the splendors of the Catholic faith. And it has been impossible to discover who were the illustrious laborers who obtained so wonderful trophies, in order to enrich history with their names.

400. But the most abundant season of those fruits was seen to be during the triennium of April 21, 1668, to 1671. Our father, Fray Christoval de Santa Monica, governed the province during those three years. He having heightened and ennobled the missions of Zambàles, when other superior employments gave him the opportunity, had placed there

the whole of his affections. On that account, in addition to the great zeal that he had for the salvation of souls, from the very chapter, he made up his mind that during the term of his government, the utmost effort should be made to unfurl the standard of the faith in the Zambàles Mountains, and to have salvation carried to its inhabitants on the wings of charity. For that purpose he managed to have father Fray Joseph de la Trinidad, a native of Zaragoza, a religious born, one would say, for the missions, elected prior of Bolinào. Later he appointed him vicar-provincial of the jurisdiction of Zambàles. That man, then, together with fathers Fray Martin de San Pablo, prior of Masinloc, Fray Agustin de San Nicolàs, prior of Marivèlez, and six other religious, who were appointed as helpers, fought against idolatry so tenaciously, that our holy faith was incredibly advanced.

401. He arranged the attack upon that proud Jericho (more impregnable because of the obstinacy of its inhabitants, than by the wall of its inaccessible mountains) by ordering that it be assaulted at the same time by several parts by different soldiers of so holy a militia with the bugles of the divine word. One began the conquest by the side of Bolinào, another at Masinloc, two by Playahonda, and two others by Sùbig and Bagàc. The father vicar-provincial went to all parts in order to direct actions, and to fight in person with his accustomed success. The father provincial also, with his secretary, then father Fray Diego de la Madre de Dios, made it a point of honor to take part in so dangerous a field, whenever the tasks of his office permitted, and they both fought as valiant soldiers. For

the expenses which were heavy for the maintenance of many missions and for the other things which accompany like expeditions, the province acted as proxy, for they did not wish to have recourse to the royal treasury which generally supports such undertakings. And to the labors which are indispensable in wars of that quality, and which were excessive there, those illustrious warriors set their shoulders, well armed with endurance, for they had already been exercised in other conquests and had always been victorious.

402. Thus did they work constantly until the end of the year 1670, and with so good result, that they converted that bitter sea of idolatries and superstitions in great part into a leafy land of virtues. On account of the insurrections which so great acts of wickedness caused in Pangasinàn, Zambàles, and Pampànga, as I have already written in chapter i of this decade, many whole families had fled from the Christian villages to the mountains, together with a very great number of Indians, who having abandoned the faith and subjection, lived there as the declared enemies of God and of the king. Of those it appears that more than two thousand souls were reduced, and another great number, which is not specified by the relations, of other people of several nations, who had either been born in heathendom, or had formerly deserted the Catholic camp. The evangelical workers were greatly elated with that fruit and rewarded for their unspeakable labors, and were encouraged beyond all manner to follow up such conquests and even to undertake other new ones. For, it is a fact that when the fruit of one's preaching can be seen, it causes such joy in the missionaries, and

gives them so great courage for other undertakings that that alone can serve as a worthy reward in this life and infuses valor for other more difficult enterprises.

403. Those zealous laborers formed anew from the people whom they allured from the mountains, the villages of Iba, or as they are also called, Paynavèn, Cavangaàn, Sùbig, and Mòrong. In addition to this the ancient villages increased in population. Until the present time, there was not along all that coast, that belonged to our administration, more than three convents or ministries – one even in Bolinào, another in Masinloc, and the third in Marivèlez – with the exception of that of Cigayàn, which was destroyed. But now two new convents were established, which were necessary for the greater convenience of the spiritual administration – one in Paynavèn, under the title of Nuestro Padre San Agustin, to which were assigned three annexes or visitas; a second in Bagàc with the advocacy of Our Lady of the Pillar of Zaragoza (which was moved to Mòrong some years later under the same title), and to it were assigned three other villages as visitas. All the above was completely accomplished in the year 1670, with which this history is concerned. That year can be marked by a white stone by that holy province and indeed by our whole Recollect congregation, because of the so great progress that was obtained in the propagation of the faith, the only aim to which their desires were expended. Next to God, successes so happy are due to the tenacity with which those zealous missionaries worked, for they trampled all dangers under foot, and to the good arrangements and holy wisdom of the father provincial, Fray

Christoval de Santa Monica, as well as to the zeal, courage, and care of his vicar, father Fray Joseph de la Trinidad.

404. In order to conclude this matter we must add that the same activity proceeded in the immediate years with equal fruit. For, as in the chapter of 1671, father Fray Joseph de la Trinidad was elected definitor, he besought the father provincial, Fray Juan de San Phelipe, very urgently, to allow him to make a mission to the Zambàles Mountains. Permission having been obtained, he went to the convent of Paynavèn and gave a new beginning to the conquest on the side toward Babàyan with results so favorable that he tamed the wild and inhuman hearts of many Zimarrònes and heathens. Hence, during the three years of his definitorship the recently-created villages were greatly increased by a considerable number of souls who were allured from the mountains and brought into the Church. As payment for this service, and in consideration of his many merits, he was elected provincial in the chapter celebrated in the year 1674. The first care of his successful government was to see that those missions should be kept up. He sent two of the best religious to continue that undertaking and finished the leveling of so impenetrable and rough thickets.

405. Those laborers (whose names will be written in the book of life, since, due to the omissions of the relations, they are lacking in the book of history) penetrated into the mountains of Zambàles in such manner, that they arrived within a short time at the contrary part of them toward Manila Bay. By so doing their approach to the villages of the district of Batàn, the administration of which, as we

have already stated, belongs to the Dominican fathers, was indispensable. The latter, reasonably, as they thought, took what had been done ill, saying that Ours were sowing the seed in a field whose territory did not belong to them; for, in these bodies of militia, more than in any other, it is easily perceived that triumphs are taken from the hands of the one to advance others in their obligations. Their father provincial, Fray Phelipe Pardo (later archbishop of Manila), assumed charge of that litigation, alleging before the royal Audiencia, that the conquest of that part of the mountains belonged to his province, as it was contiguous to their ministries. He petitioned that our discalced religious be ordered to retire. But our father, Fray Joseph de la Trinidad, opposed that demand so energetically that justice was compelled to decide that if the extension of the Catholic flock followed, it mattered very little which instruments were used, whether these or those ministers.

406. Divine Providence usually permits such rivalry, certainly holy in itself in the holy squadrons that serve the God of armies for the spiritual conquest of the world. Whenever judicial authority has determined in this way, experience has demonstrated that great progress follows in favor of the Catholic faith. For each side with the incentive of the other, dares to undertake greater enterprises, and repeated triumphs are obtained. So was it now; for seeing the door locked to their demand in the above-said court, the father provincial, Fray Phelipe Pardo, resolved to assign two religious of his order, so that they might, with the zeal that he infuses in all of his holy institute, make a mission thither by

way of Mount Batàn. They began that mission in the month of October, 1675, as is affirmed in his history of Philipinas by father Fray Balthassar de Santa Cruz, although he says nothing as to the reason for the expedition.²⁸ Accordingly Ours went to another part, thus leaving a sufficient field for the Dominican fathers, for truly, there is room enough for all. This strife being the origin of the obstinate work of the missionaries of both families, who labored with all their might, they reduced many Zambals to the bosom of our holy faith, and filled their respective villages with new converts. Had so laudable a rivalry continued, excellently founded hopes that so glorious a conquest would be ended would have been conceived. But it was God's will to have all the territory of Zambales shortly after left for several years in charge of the fathers of St. Dominic, while our laborers went to the territory of Mindoro, as we shall relate in chapter ix of the following decade. Thereupon the strife entirely ceased, and even the fruit, so far as our reformed order is concerned.

407. Father Fray Joseph de la Trinidad finished his provincialate in April, 1677, and then immediately went in person to continue the expedition that cost him so great anxiety. He penetrated the mountains on foot in various places in order to seek sheep there whom he might convey into the flock of Christ. Exposing himself to the will of their barbaric natures, without any fear of the perils or caring for the dangers to himself, he persevered there until he had to retire two years later for the reasons given

²⁸ A reference here in the original is to Santa Cruz's *Historia*, folio 499.

above. As we do not possess the necessary manuscripts, we cannot state the number of souls that were drawn down from the mountains from the year 1671 to that of 1679. The relations which we follow only assure us that as it was not considered advisable at that time to form settlements in the wildnesses of the mountains many reduced families were withdrawn thence, in order to live in the coast villages. Those villages have been augmented in tributes and inhabitants, to such a degree that those ministries were constituted with a great abundance of people and were the most flourishing of the province, as they were so thickly populated by souls who embraced the Catholic faith with fervor. In due time (decade 13, in the year 1741) this history will show forth another most fruitful expedition, which was made into the same mountains by our Recollect family, founding there villages and convents in order to attend to whatever pertained to them in the conversion of those Indians. Now we shall end this relation by giving due thanks to God, for He has in all times infused into our brothers a spirit fervent in undertaking, and in proceeding in such obligations.

[The second and last section of this chapter deals entirely with Recollect affairs in Spain.]

DECADE NINE

[The first four sections of the first chapter which covers the year 1671 deal with the life of the father lector, Fray Miguèl de Santo Thomàs. Nothing is known of his early life, not even his birthplace or his family name, nor the date or convent of his profession. By some he is called Miguèl de San Agustín. His life in the Philippines was almost all spent

in the province of Caraga. He shunned publicity, although he did fill several priorates. He worked in the villages of Bislig, Tàndag, Siargào, and Butuàn where he accomplished much, and where he was greatly beloved by the natives. He endeavored to induce industrious habits in the natives, and reclaimed many of them from the apostasy into which they had fallen, besides strengthening old Christians and converting heathen. He was especially devoted to the Virgin, to St. Augustine, and to St. Nicholas of Tolentino. He is said to have been the object of several marvelous occurrences which can be traced to his devotion. To him also was vouchsafed at times the gift of prophecy. He labored fearlessly in the insurrection of Linao and surrounding districts, braving death more than once in his endeavors to pacify the Indians. The sexual sin which was offered him failed to move him as did all other dangers. His death occurred in Butuàn and he was buried in the church there. The remainder of this chapter does not concern Philippine affairs. The first section of chapter ii contains a notice of the eleventh general chapter of the order held in Calatayud convent in 1672. Fathers Fray Alonso de la Concepcion and Fray Joseph de la Circuncision were elected definitors for the Philippines; and fathers Fray Manuel de San Agustin, and Fray Lucas de San Bernardo, discreets. The remainder of chapter ii and the following chapter do not contain Philippine matter.]

CHAPTER IV

The Catholic faith makes new progress in Philipinas through the preaching of our religious. Death of some religious in España of great reputation.

§ 1

A great multitude of heathen Tagabalòyes who lived in the mountains near the district of Bislig, is converted in the island of Mindanào by the preaching of our tireless laborers.

600. [The author draws a parallel between the capture of Jericho by the Hebrews and the evangelization of the Philipines. When God pleases, the walls of idolatry must fall.] This maxim has followed our reformed order in the Philipinas, and has been proved many times. For contending almost continuously with paganism fortified in the mountains contiguous to the districts reduced to their administration, although they were disappointed by not few fatigues, without being able to sing victory, they were at last crowned with triumphs when it appeared fitting to divine Providence. We have seen and shall see several activities that prove this truth. At the present we are offered the feats performed in the mountains of Bislig.

601. The district of Bislig, which is the last and most distant from Manila among those possessed there by our reformed order, is located in Carhàga, in the island of Mindanào and consists of five villages. These are Bislig, which is the chief one, Hinatòan, Catèl, Bagàngan, and Carhàga. At its beginning the province was named from the last one, as it was then the settlement of the greatest population. Two religious only are generally designated

for the spiritual administration of this district, and they have too much work in the exercise of it. For the villages are located at great distances from one another, the people are especially warlike, they are contiguous to the Moros, those irreconcilable enemies, while the sea of those districts on which they have to travel from one village to another, is extremely boisterous, rough, and at times impassable, and on its reef in the dangers already mentioned, several religious have lost their lives, as will be patent further on in this history. But, notwithstanding that the two religious assigned to those villages can scarcely attend fully to the direction of the Christian Indians, and although because of the dearth of religious from which our reformed order almost always suffers in those islands, but rarely could more subjects be employed there, those few following the maxim practiced there of one doing the work of many, they did not cease to solicit ever the conversion of the surrounding heathens, who are very numerous in those mountains.

602. There is especially so great a number of heathen Indians and barbarous nations in certain mountains that extend along the coast, from opposite Carhàga near Bislig (a distance of about twenty-five leguas, while it is not known how far they extend inland), that even the Christian Indians do not know them all. The nearest nation to our villages is that of the Tagabalòyes, who are so named from certain mountains which they call Baloòy. They live amid their briars without submission to the Catholic faith or to the monarchy of España. Those Indians are domestic, peaceable, tractable, and always allied with the Christians, whom they

imitate in being irreconcilable enemies of the Moros. They are a very corpulent race, well built, of great courage and strength, and they are at the same time of good understanding, and more than half way industrious. That nation is faithful in its treaties, and constant in its promises, as they are descendants, so they pride themselves, of the Japanese, whom they resemble in complexion, countenance, and manners. Their life is quite civilized, and they show no aversion to human society. All those of the same kin, however extensive, generally live in one house, the quarters being separated according to the families. Those houses are built very high, so that there are generally two pike lengths from the ground to the first floor. The whole household make use of only one stairway, which is constructed so cunningly, that when all are inside they remove it from above, and thus they are safe from their enemies. Many of those Tagabalòyes live near the Christians, and those peoples have mutual intercourse, and visit and aid one another. They do not run away from our religious, but on the contrary like to communicate with them, and show them the greatest love and respect. Hence any ministers can live among them as safely as in a Christian village.

603. It is now seen how suitable are all these districts to induce so docile a nation to receive our holy faith. But for all that, very little progress was made in their reduction until the year 1671, and then it was that the care and the continual preaching of Ours obtained it. Besides the will of God, whose resolutions are unsearchable, there were several motives of a natural order, which made the attempts of the evangelical ministers fruitless. The first was

the continual wars with the Moros. That fact scarcely permitted the Christians and even the Tagabolòyes to let their weapons out of their hands. With the din of arms the Catholic religion, always inclined to quiet and peace, can generally make but little progress. The second consisted in the little or no aid rendered in this attempt by the alcalde-mayor, the military leaders of Catèl, and even some chiefs of the subject villages. All of the above were assured of greater profits in their trade and commerce, if those Indians were heathens than if they were Christians; and it is very old in human malice that the first objects of anxiety are the pernicious ideas of greed, and the progress of the faith is disregarded if it opposes their cupidity.

604. But the strongest reason for the failure of the desired fruit was the third. This reason is reduced, as we have already mentioned, to the fact that there were but two religious generally in the said district, and of those no one could be in residence at the villages of Catèl or Carhàga, the nearest ones to the said mountains, and they only went thither two or three times per year. Consequently, although they wished never so strongly to labor in the conversion of the heathen Indians, they could not obtain the fruit up to the measures of their desires. It happened almost always that the minister was detained a fortnight at most, in the said villages, the greater part of which was necessarily spent in instructing the Christians. And although, by stealing some hours from sleep, the minister employed some of them in catechizing the heathens, since his stay was so short, he could not give the work the due perfection, and left it in its beginning, as he had to go to the other

villages. He charged some Christians to continue in preparing and cultivating those souls so that they might be ready on his return to receive baptism. But human weakness, united to the sloth, which almost as if native to him, accompanies the Indian, was the reason that when the religious returned after an interval of four or six months, instead of finding the work advanced, he found that which he himself had done in it lost. And idolatry always triumphed, notwithstanding that he did not cease to make vigorous war upon it.

605. Thus time rolled on, and the Church obtained very little increase in those mountains, for the three above-mentioned reasons. The order could not conquer the two first, and there was less possibility for the third. For however much the order desired to apply on its part the only means whereby the desired fruit could be obtained, namely, the assignment of a religious to reside in the said places, who should look after the reduction of the Tagabalòyes, without attending to any other thing, it was continually unable to effect that, for in Philipinas the harvest is very great and the laborers few. I have detained myself in the consideration of these obstacles, which threaten the total devastation of the heathendom of Philipinas, and are transcendental to all the holy orders, who are striving to spread the faith in the said islands. For some believe (and more than two have expressed as much to me here in España in familiar conversation) that the reason why the heathenism of those countries has not been ended, is because the missionaries do not work with the same spirit as they did at the beginning. But they are surely deceived, for in addition to the many

other reasons that may be assigned, the three above-mentioned suffice to render the most laborious efforts vain. The same tenacity, zeal, and courage of the first laborers accompanies those who have succeeded them. Let the obstacles be removed, and one will see that (as has been experienced many times) Belial having been destroyed and cut into pieces, although many render him adoration, the Catholic faith triumphs in the ark of the testament. This happened at the time of which we treat in the mountains of Bislig.

606. The year, then, of 1671 came, in which that holy province held their chapter and father Fray Juan de San Phelipe, a native of Nueva España, who had taken our holy habit in the convent of Manila, was elected provincial. That religious had lived for some years in Bislig, and had known by experience how necessary it was for a missionary to live in residence near the mountains, where so great infidelity was fortified, in order to establish there the health-bringing dogmas of our Catholic religion. Scarcely was he elected superior prelate, since he had a sufficient number of subjects in order to attend to all parts, when he resolved to place one of them in residence at Catèl, and to order such an one solemnly that he should from there procure the reduction of those heathens by all means without engaging in other cares, however useful they seemed to him. He also gave very rigorous orders to the father prior of Bislig to the effect that whenever they could without any omission in the spiritual administration of the other villages, he or his associates should go to reside in the village of Carhàga, and be there in residence as much as possible, all

three religious concurring in that great work and aiding one another mutually for the attainment of so well conceived desires. Finally he arranged matters with so much acumen that if the lack of religious had not rendered it impossible after such ideas had been put into practice, it is probable that they would have subdued all the heathens of those mountains.

607. In August 1671 that project was begun to be put into operation; and although we have not yet been able to get detailed information of the laborers, who were employed in it, on account of which we cannot place their names in this history, we shall have the consolation of knowing that they will not be omitted from the book of life. It is certain that all three religious conspired together in bringing to the delicious net of the Church those misguided souls, and they shirked no toil that might help in their object. They made raid after raid into those mountains; one from Catèl, one from Carhàga, and one from Bislìg, penetrating to their highest peaks, and their deepest valleys in all their extent from the promontory of Calatàn nearly to the cape called San Agustin. All three of them at the same time were careful to assist the Christians in the spiritual administration. They preached, catechized, attracted the people by argument, by art, by prudence. And as some truce occurred in the war with the Moros at that time, and as they obtained at the same time a very Christian alcalde-mayor who aided them and caused all his subordinates to aid them in so holy zeal, so much fruit was obtained that when the father provincial went on his visit in February 1673, he found that they had already baptized more than

three hundred adults without reckoning those who had been purified in the waters of grace in sickness and had immediately died. The latter were as many as one hundred counting great and small.

608. Thus did the above-mentioned father provincial, Fray Juan de San Phelipe, write to our father vicar-general under date of July 5, of the same year. And after, on June 26, 1674, he adds that, according to the relations sent to the chapter by the father prior of Bislig, that district had increased by two hundred tributes. This, according to the reckoning in vogue there, means eight hundred souls. They had all been allured from the mountains and from the horrors of their paganism to become inhabitants of the villages already formed, and to live in civilized intercourse among the pleasant lights of the Christian name. This well premeditated idea has since then been followed as has been possible by the successors of our father, Fray Juan de San Phelipe, whenever the small number of religious has not rendered it impossible. For in some chapters of that holy province, repeated determinations are seen to place a minister in residence at Catèl, so that he may exercise the means conducive to that end. Hence it is that father Fray Juan Francisco de San Antonio has inserted the following narrative in his seraphic chronicle. He says: "Some of the Tagabalòyes are living now in old villages who have become Christians, and others are being reduced by the zeal and cultivation of the discalced Augustinian fathers, who hold them as inhabitants of Bislig." ²⁹ And it is confirmed that although the

²⁹ A sidenote refers to San Antonio's *Chronicas*, i, book i, chapter 39, no. 407, folio 139.

district of Bislig was formerly one of the smallest in the number of its parishioners, it is now one of the largest in Mindanão, and there is no other reason for its increase.

[The two following sections of this chapter detail several miraculous happenings that aided not a little in the conversion of the region inhabited by the Tagabalòyes. In 1662 when the Spaniards abandoned the island of Ternate, because of the Chinese pirate Kuesing, one of the religious images taken away with them was of the Virgin. That image was given by the governor of Ternate to the alcaide-mayor of Caraga, who in turn gave it to the garrison of Catèl. From its position there it was known as "La Virgen de la Costa" or, the Virgin of the hill, "for *costa* in the language of the country, is the same as *castillo* [*i.e.*, redoubt]." The influence of this image was far reaching and it distributed many blessings and favors to its devotees in times of drought, in plagues of locusts, and during epidemics, and performed other miracles that gave it lasting fame. Another image of the Christ crucified was revered in a village near Bislig, and was later given a place in the Recollect church at Manila. It was a small ordinary image such as was used on the altar during mass. As it was very ugly and misshapen the priest determined to bury it, ordering some of the natives to perform that task. But when the hole was dug, and they went to get the image, in its place they found the most beautiful and symmetrical image that they had ever seen, and nailed to the same cross. The transformation was announced to be of divine origin, and this image was accordingly revered as miraculous; and it proved itself to be so in the future. On

account of the miracles that occurred in the Caraga district the people became more devout Christians and many abandoned their ancient practices. The remainder of this chapter does not deal with Philippine matters; as do neither of the two following chapters.]

CHAPTER VII

The Catholic faith is advanced by the preaching of Ours in various places in the Philipinas. The death of two religious in Talavera de la Reyna with great reputation.

The year 1677

§ I

The evangelical trumpet resounds in various territories of Philipinas, and especially in the ridges of Linao, and in the mountains of Cagayàn, in the island of Mindanào, by the means of our missionaries; and many heathens are converted to the Christian religion.

714. It has ever been a very common complaint among historians of the order, and all make it, of time the destroyer of all things and of the neglect in leaving advisory news thereof. There is no doubt that for these two reasons the memory of many valiant deeds of excellent religious, who have filled our discalced Recollect order with honors in the Philipinas Islands, who have extended the Catholic faith untiringly at the cost of unspeakable hardships, and destroyed the abominable altars of heathen blindness, have been lost. But never more than at present does that complaint appear justifiable, when we begin to treat of the progress of Christianity in the dis-

tricts of Linào and Cagayàn, villages of the island of Mindanào, one of the Philipinas. There was the evangelical trumpet heard by dint of members of our reformed order, with memorable fruit. . . . Let us pass then to mention what we have been able to bring to light from the confused memories which time excused.

715. In the year 1674, father Fray Joseph de la Trinidad, a native of Zaragoza, was elected provincial in Philipinas. That apostolic laborer had always had great zeal for the conversion of souls. Agitated by that sacred fire that burned without consuming his heart which fed it, he worked in his own person, as much as he who did most, so that all the heathens of that distant archipelago should embrace, believe, and reverence the faith of the true God, in whose name only is found salvation. For that purpose he went not only once into the highest peaks of Zambàles, in order to illumine their darkness with the Catholic light or to lose his life in so heroic an act of charity. He desired with unspeakable anxiety to be given the opportunity to make a sacrifice of his blood by shedding it in so good warfare, in confirmation of the truth which he was preaching. "When shall I have the desirable happiness," he exclaimed to his pious fellow countryman, San Pedro Arbuès, "of being made a good martyr from a bad priest by the merciful God?" That desire we see already had made him leave every fear; and consequently, without any horror of death, notwithstanding that it represented itself to him as to all, full of bitterness, he placed himself in excessive dangers, in order that he might whiten with the water of baptism the souls of the inhabitants of those

ridges, so that in their darkened bodies they might obtain the beauty of grace. Thus was his practice throughout his life, not only in the above-mentioned district, but also in other places of the many which are entrusted to us in those vast territories, and if he did not effectively obtain the crown of martyrdom, yet the merited reward will not be lacking to such prowess.

716. He did that when he was not the superior prelate, but afterwards when he became provincial, he flew with his cares to undertakings of almost infinite breadth. He beheld very near the great empire of China, peopled by an incredible multitude of souls, almost all of them seated in the shadows of death, and their acute intellects ignorantly disturbed in the obscure darkness of their errors. The mission so often craved by our reformed order to those countries, was the first object of his zealous heart. He could not be satisfied with trying to send others as evangelical laborers, but he tried with the greatest seriousness to abandon the glory of the provincialate, in order that he might be employed personally in an expedition so much to divine service, and his inability to accomplish it cost him many a bitter sob. He became a sea of tears, when he thought of the distant kingdoms (also almost in sight) of Japòn, Bornèy, Sumàtra, Tunquìn, Cochinchina, Mogòl, Tartària, and Persia; for most of those who have their wealth and amenities live but as mortals basely deceived by their brutish worships, in order to die eternally in the more grievous life. To some of those places and especially to Japòn, he had practical ideas of sending missionaries, and even of going thither in person, and he made the great-

est efforts for that purpose. And although he did not obtain the end of his desires, because of the obstructions which the common enemy is wont to place to such works, such eagerness cannot but be praised very highly; and consequently, they will have been rewarded with great degrees of glory, because of what he was trying to communicate to the souls of others.

717. Since, then, he could not accomplish so well conceived love which extended itself to the salvation of the whole world, he set in operation the maxims which his burning charity dictated to him in regard to the extensive limits entrusted by the Lord of the vineyard of the Philipinas for the cultivation of our holy discalced order, with a so visible utility to the Church. In the first place he arranged with admirable prudence that certain missionary religious should incessantly travel through the villages of our administration, like swift angels or like light clouds in order to preach the obligation of their character to the Christian Indians. They were to advise them at the same time to take the sacraments frequently, of the horror of idolatry, of the love of the faith, of obedience to the Church, and to the appreciable submission to the Catholic king from which so many blessings would follow to them, and by which they would be delivered from innumerable evils. For that purpose he assigned two religious of the Visayan language, one of the Tagalog, and one of the Zambal – all of the spirit that such an occupation demanded. He ordered each one of them to make continual journeys through the large and small settlements of the district of his language, preaching the mission with the same formalities that they are

wont to observe in Europa. He also ordered the father priors of the respective districts to give such fathers every aid for that apostolic ministry, both temporal and spiritual, as such was for the service of God and the greater purity of our Catholic faith.

718. The profits and good effects that followed that undertaking happily instituted, and reduced to fact with rare success, cannot be easily explained. Oh would that the lack of religious almost transcendental in all times in that province did not prevent the prosecution and perpetuity of so holy a custom by which unspeakable harvests of spiritual blessings were obtained, although some temporal riches should be spent in it. It is true that the ministers of parish priests of our said order who live continually in the villages, attend to those duties without avoiding any toil. But since they always live among their parishioners, and treat them so near at hand, and since they exercise over them a certain kind of authority, greater than that which the curas in España possess, it will not be imprudent to observe (considering human weakness, and the cowardice of the Indians), that some will not go to confess to those said parish priests without great fear, the common enemy infusing them with fears lest the parish priests perhaps will punish them for the sins that they might confess. Let us add to this that there are no other confessors on whom to rely, especially in the districts which are at some distance from Manila. Also it is almost impossible as our ministries are located, for the Indians to go from one village to another for that purpose. For these reasons, I myself have experienced, and I have heard it asserted by many curates that too many sacrilegious confessions are made, for sins are

kept hidden out of shame, to the deplorable ruin of souls. All the above impediments cease undeniably so far as the missionaries are concerned. Hence one can infer the great fruit that would be gathered in spiritual matters by means of the profitable idea which was invented by our father Fray Joseph and put in practice in his time with the utmost ardor.

719. Besides that, by causing his subjects to multiply, since not in number, at least in their courage for work, the vigilant superior ordered those who were in the ministries to perform with the utmost effort what they had always done, namely, that they should not be content with directing the souls of the faithful to heaven, but should strive with might and main for the conversion of the heathen. And since the fire of love as regards God, their provincial, and their neighbors, burned with intensity in those gospel laborers, one can not imagine how greatly the activity of that fire, strengthened with the breath of the exhortation of so worthy a prelate, was increased and worked outside. We can assert without any offense to anyone else what has already been suggested in other parts of this history, namely, that our dis-calced religious in the Philipinas Islands, outstripped all the other religious in the so meritorious quality of suffering hardships.³⁰ The villages most distant from Manila, those that offer less convenience for human life, those with the most ferocious people, and all surrounded by Moros, by heathens, and by other barbarous Indians, in regard to whom any confidence would be irrational, are the ones in our charge. And adding to this that one minister

³⁰ A sidenote refers at this point to Santa Theresa, nos. 239 ff., and 737 ff.

generally has charge of many settlements, which are at times located in distinct islands, one can easily see how many fatigues, sweatings, and how much weariness will be caused by the spiritual administration of those who are enlisted in the Catholic religion. What will all that be then, if they have to attend also to the reduction of so great a number of souls, who live lawless in idolatry in sight of the law of grace! I repeat that our Recollects, equal in their zeal to the other gospel laborers, exceed them there without difficulty in the necessary opportunities for suffering. Moreover, if our brothers have the advantage at all times in this regard of other missionaries, those of the triennium of which we are speaking, excelled themselves, for they labored more than ever in the administration of the faithful and in the conversion of the heathen.

720. But the greatest efforts that the venerable father provincial put forth, and the places where the religious assigned for that work labored with excessive fervor, were in the districts of Butuàn and Cagayàn, which are located in the island of Mindanào. There was a heathen Indian called Dato Pistig Matànda, who had been living for many years on the banks of the river Butuàn between the villages of Linào and Hothìbon. He was of noble rank, a lord of vassals, and had great power and a not slight understanding, although he was corrupted with an execrable multitude of vices. He, instigated by the devil, had caused all the efforts of the evangelical ministers to return fruitless for many years; for idolatry maintained not only in the castle of his soul, but as well in all the territory of his jurisdiction, the throne which it had usurped, and

the continual assaults which were made without cessation against that obstinate heart by the members of our discalced order had no effect. Several religious had endeavored to make him submit to the sweet yoke of the evangelical law, and they availed themselves with holy zeal of all the stratagems which, as incentives, generally attract the human will to reason and open the door to grace in order that it may work marvels. Especially did the holy father Fray Miguèl de Santo Thomàs, make use of all the means that he considered fitting to reduce the Indian chief to the true sheepfold as well as those who were strayed from it in his following, during the whole time that he graced that river by his presence. But experience proved that God reserved the triumph solicited on so many occasions for the happy epoch of which we are treating at present, for his own inscrutable reasons. At that time then the divine vocation working powerfully and mildly, and availing itself as instruments of our religious who resided in Butuàn and in Linào, softened that erstwhile bronze heart and he not only received baptism, but also tried by all means to have his vassals do the same. Hence, leaving out of account a great number of children, the adults who were reëngendered in the waters of salvation and became sons of God and heirs of glory, exceeded three hundred.

721. At the same time another father, who had a residence in the village of Linào, notably advanced our Christian religion in places thitherto occupied by infidelity. The mountains of that territory are inhabited by a nation of Indians, heathens for the greater part called Manòbos³¹—a word signifying

³¹ See VOL. XL, p. 123, note 46.

in that language, as if we should say here, "robust and very numerous people." When those Indians are not at war with the Spaniards, they are tractable, docile, and quite reasonable. They have the very good peculiarities of being separated not a little from the brutish life of the other mountain people thereabout; for they have regular villages, where they live in human sociability in a very well ordered civilization. Although the above qualities, as has been seen, are very apropos for receiving the faith, notwithstanding that fact, although some of them are always reduced, they are very few when one considers the untiring solicitude with which our missionaries unceasingly endeavor to procure it. The reasons for so deplorable an effect are the same as we have mentioned in regard to the conversion of the Tagabalòyes Indians. But during the provincialate of our father Fray Joseph de la Trinidad, either because those obstacles ceased, or because divine grace wished to extend its triumphs, the results were wonderful. A very great number of those Manòbos were admitted into the Church – how many is not specified by the relations which we have been able to investigate, but we only see that they were many; for it is asserted that while the district of Butuàn, to which Linào belonged, consisted before that time of about three thousand reduced souls, its Christianity increased then by about one-third, the believers thus being increased for God and the vassals for the king.

722. In the mountains of Cagayàn, shone also the light of disillusionment, without proving hateful but very agreeable to rational eyes, for it caught them well disposed. The zealous workers of our

Institute, shaken with the zeal of the venerable father provincial, devoted themselves to felling that bramble thicket which was filled with buckthorns of idolatry and even with thorns hardened in the perfidious sect of Mahomet. Three religious, who glorified that district, attended to so divine an occupation, stealing for it from the rest of the moments that were left to them from the spiritual administration which was the first object of their duty. They extended their work toward the part of Tagalòan, and even penetrated inland quite near the lake of Malanào through all the mountains of their jurisdiction. There like divine Orpheuses they converted brutes into men by the harmonious cithara of the apostolic preaching and those who were living in the most brutish barbarity to the Christian faith, which is so united to reason. Thus did they reduce more than one hundred tributes to the villages of the Christians. That was a total of five hundred souls who were all drawn from their infidelity or apostasy. That triumph was so much more wonderful as at that time the war of the Malanào Moros against the presidio of Cagayàn was more bloody, and it is verified by experience that in all contests, the Catholic faith generally advances but little amid the clash of arms. But their increases, which we have related (as obtained in the triennium of the venerable father, Fray Joseph de la Trinidad, which was concluded in April, 1677) appear from several letters written in Manìla by the most excellent religious in June and July of the above-mentioned year, and directed to our father the vicar-general, Fray Francisco de San Joseph, which have been preserved in the archives of Madrid.

[Section ii of this chapter relates a number of miraculous occurrences in the villages of Butuàn, Linao, and Cagayàn, and their districts—miracles which were greater than the recovery of health on receiving baptism, at the reading of the gospels, or after drinking the water left in the chalice after the sacrament, all of which were very common and little regarded. Those miracles had great weight in reducing those people to the Christian faith. For instance the dato above mentioned, Putig (or Pistig) Matanda, was converted after the successful exorcism of demons that had troubled his village. It is related in this section that “for reasons that seemed fitting, the convent and church of Butuan were moved to the beach from their previous location; but it was afterward reestablished there, one legua from the sea upstream.” One of these years also the village of Cagayàn suffered greatly from the scourge of smallpox which was formerly so common in the Philippines. Section iii treats of Spanish affairs. Section iv deals with the life of Fray Melchor de la Madre de Dios who died in the Recollect convent of Talavera de la Reyna, Spain, May 30, 1677. He was born in Nueva Segovia or Cagayan in Luzón, his father being Juan Rodrigues de Ladera. While still young his parents removed to Manila where he studied until the age of twenty the subjects of grammar, philosophy, and theology. Although he was apt, he found himself below others not so clever as himself because the pleasures of the world appealed to him too strongly. Consequently, he quit his studies in disgust, and gave himself to trade, “the occupation of which is not considered disgraceful there to people of the highest rank.” But his evil

courses still prevailed and during his several trips to Acapulco he succeeded only in wasting his money. Returning to Manila after his final voyage, he gave up some of his worst vices, but still kept a firm grip of the world. He must have taken up his neglected studies again, but almost nothing is known of him until he reached his thirty-third year. It is said by some that he became a priest before joining the Recollect order, but there is a lack of definite knowledge on that score. At any rate he did not abandon his rather loose way of living. In the midst of his vices he had always been greatly devoted to St. Augustine, and his conversion finally occurred on the eve of that saint. Then a vision of the saint who appeared to him caused his conversion and an enthusiasm that never left him. He became a novitiate in the Recollect convent of Manila that same year 1639 and professed in 1640. After preaching with great clearness and force in Manila which had been the scene of his excesses, he was sent as missionary to the Visayan Islands, where he worked faithfully and well. But breaking down in health because of his strenuous life in the snaring of souls, he was compelled to retire to the convent of Cebú and then to that of Manila. It being impossible for him to accomplish much work longer in the Philippines because of his health, he begged and received permission to go to Spain for the remainder of his life. When he went is uncertain, but it was after 1656, for that year he was in Siargao in the province of Caraga. After his arrival at Madrid he was assigned to the convent of Talavera de la Reyna, where his memory was revered after death for his good works.]

[Chapter viii notes the twelfth general chapter of the Recollect order held at the convent at Toboso. Philippine votes were lacking, due probably to the non-arrival of delegates in time. The remainder of the chapter does not concern the Philip-pines.]

CHAPTER IX

Our province of Philipinas takes charge of the spiritual administration of the island of Mindòro where several convents are founded. Several religious venerated as saints, end their days in España.

The year 1679

§ I

Description of the island of Mindòro, and considerations in regard to its spiritual conquest, which was partly obtained before our discalced order assumed its administration.

. . . 785. Mindòro is located in the center of the islands called Philipinas. It is surrounded by all those islands, and is encircled by them in a close band as the parts of the human body do the heart. It has a triangular shape whose three ends are three capes or promontories, one of which is called Burruncàn and looks to the south, another looks to the north and is called Dumàli, while the third which looks to the west is called Calavite. In regard to its extent, Mindoro comes to be the seventh in size among all the islands of that great archipelago.³² It

³² Mindoro has an area of 3,851 square miles, according to the estimate of the *Census of the Philippines*, i, pp. 65, 66. It has a maximum length of 100 miles and its greatest width is about 60 miles. Though represented as having two mountain ranges those who have crossed the island say that it has but one. The highest elevation of that range is Mt. Halcón, about 8,800 ft. high. The

is about one hundred leguas in circumference. Its climate is very hot, although the continual rains somewhat temper its unendurable heat. In its rains it exceeds all the other nearby islands. However this relief bears the counterpoise of making the island but little favorable to health, because of the bad consequences of the heat accompanied by the humidity. But for all that it is a very fertile land, although unequally so because of its rough mountain ranges, and the thick forests. There are many trees of the yonote,³³ and of the buri, from which sago is made, which is used for bread in some places. There are also wax, honey, the fruits of the earth, flesh, abundance of fish, and rice where the people do not neglect through laziness to plant it. That island was formerly called Mainit, but the Spaniards called it Mindòro from a village called Minòlo which is located between the port of Galeras and the bay of Ilòg.³⁴

786. Its inhabitants had sufficient courage to cause all their neighbors to fear them. Especially at sea were they powerful and daring as was lamented at different times by the islands of Panày, Luzòn, and others, when they were attacked by the fleets of

island has much valuable timber. The settlements are mostly confined to the coast, and are small, while some wild people live in the interior.

³³ Of "yonote" Colin (*Labor evangélica*, p. 29) says: "They [*i.e.*, the inhabitants of Mindoro] pay their tribute in yonote, which is a kind of black hemp, produced by certain palms. It is used for the larger cables of ships, which are made in the rope factory of the village of Tal." Cf. *bonote*, VOL. X, p. 58; and VOL. XIV, p. 257.

³⁴ San Antonio, i, p. 102, notes that the island of Mindoro was formerly called Maît. Its Chinese name was Ka-may-en (see VOL. XXXIV, p. 187, note 15).

Mindòro which they completely filled with blood and fire. But at the same time they showed a very great simplicity, which was carried to so great an extreme, as is mentioned by father Fray Gaspàr de San Agustin, that when they saw the Europeans with clothes and shoes – a thing unknown among them – they imagined that that adornment was the product of nature and not placed through ingenious modesty.³⁵ That simplicity produced in them the effect of their not applying themselves to the cultivation of the earth, but of contenting themselves with wild fruit and what they could steal as pirates, or better said, robbers. The sequel of that so far as their laziness is concerned, has lasted even to our own times; for as says father Fray Juan Francisco de San Antonio, all who have discussed the matter, agree that they are the laziest people and the most averse to work of all the inhabitants in those islands, notwithstanding that they are corpulent enough.³⁶ However, my experience of the Philipinas obliges me to say that so blamable a peculiarity is only too common to all of them, almost without any distinction of more or less. Neither could that courage of theirs save them from subjection to España, and if they earlier considered that subjection unfortunate in the extreme, now they regard it with the light of the faith as their greatest fortune.

787. A beginning in its conquest was made on the Mambùrao side in the year 1570 by Captain

³⁵ Our author refers in a sidenote to San Agustin's *Conquistas*, book ii, chapter i, pp. 216, 250. The first page makes no mention of the "simplicity."

³⁶ The sidenote reference to San Antonio is to his *Chronicas*, volume i, p. 103.

Juan de Salcèdo.³⁷ That conquest was completed so far as the seacoasts are concerned from the cape of Burruncàn to that of Calavite at the beginning of the following year by the adelantado, Miguèl Lopez de Legazpi. The balance of the island has been subdued gradually by dint of the evangelical laborers with the exception of the mountains which are located in its center. From that time, then, the seacoast Indians of that island have been subject to the mild yoke of the Spanish crown, and have given signs of extreme loyalty. For, although the great Chinese pirate Limaòn attacked the Philipinas in the year 1574, in order to seize them if possible, there were some signs of insurrection in Mindòro, which was put down very quickly, even before one felt its effects which are generally very painful in popular uprisings. That good fortune was due to the moderation of the natives and to the temperance of Captain Gabriel de Ribera, who knew how to sweeten with very pleasing acts of kindness the bitter crust of justice. For that reason of the Indians being entirely well inclined to the Spaniards, the encomiendas of that great island were very desirable to the primitive conquistadors. In spiritual matters the island belongs to the archbishopric of Manila. In regard to civil matters, it is governed by a corregidor and captain of war, who generally has residence in it and extends his jurisdiction to the neighboring islands of Marindùque and Lucbàn.

788. Let us now speak of its spiritual conquest, which is the principal object of our consideration. In the year 1543 the Observant religious, the sons

³⁷A sidenote reference is to San Agustin's *Conquistas*, pp. 216, 224, 292.

of the best beloved Benjamin, our common father, San Agustin (to whom fell the first and greater part of the possession for the conversion of the heathen, so far as that archipelago is concerned) made the Philipinas Islands happy by their presence by commencing to establish their apostolic preaching;³⁸ and later in the year 1565, they settled in order to complete what they had begun. Like stars rain-laden with the evangelical doctrine those most zealous ministers fertilized their Philipinas inheritance with their voluntary showers. So much did they do so, that when the new laborers, the sons of the seraph Francisco arrived at the field, there was scarce an island which had not produced most abundant fruit for the granaries of the Church because of the work of the first sowers; as is shown in several places of his history by father Fray Gaspàr de San Agustin;³⁹ and that lover of truth, father Fray Francisco de San Antonio confesses it, thus honoring as he ought the Augustinian Hiermo [*sic*]. The island of Mindòro also shared in this good fortune. In its cultivation were employed fathers Fray Francisco de Ortèga and Fray Diego de Mòxica. They, after having founded the village of Bàco, endured innumerable misfortunes in a painful captivity, hoping for hours for that death, which they anxiously desired in order to beautify their heads with a painful martyrdom. But in order that one might see that although the former worked above their strength, much remained to be done by their successors, I shall cite here the exact words of father Fray Gaspar de San Agustin in his *Historia*. "The con-

³⁸ See VOL. II, p. 59, note 22.

³⁹ Sidenote reference: San Agustin, *ut supra*, p. 292.

vent," he says, "that we had in that island [of Mindòro: *added by Assis*] was in the village of Bàco. Thence the religious went out to minister to the converted natives. The latter were very few and the religious suffered innumerable hardships because of the roughness of the roads and the bad climate of some regions."⁴⁰

789. The discalced sons of St. Francis (minors for their humility, but greatest [*maximos*] by the fires which they could cast from themselves in order to burn up the world) arrived in Manila in the year 1577. Thence like flying clouds, whose centers were filled with very active volcanoes, they were scattered through various parts of the islands. They were received with innumerable applauses of their inhabitants, who regarded them as persons who despised the riches of earth, and thought only of filling the vacant seats of glory. One of the places where their zeal for the salvation of souls was predominant was the land of Mindòro which had been ceded by the calced Augustinian fathers. There, not being content with what had been reduced, they extended the lights of the Catholic faith at the expense of great efforts, in the direction of Pola and Calavite. Those who labored most in those places to communicate the infinite blessing to souls were fathers Fray Estevan Ortiz and Fray Juan de Porras, who were great leaders among the first religious of the seraphic discalced order who went to Philipinas.⁴¹ But since the fire is kept up in matter

⁴⁰ Sidenote reference: San Agustin, p. 250.

⁴¹ Sidenote references: Father Fray Marcelo de Ribadeneyra, in his *Historia*, folio 84; father Fray Juan Francisco de San Antonio in his *Chronicas*, volume i, folio 20.

in proportion as it abounds in commensurate inclinations, various fields having been discovered in other parts which were full of combustible dry fuel most fitting to receive the heat of charity, which gives light to the beautiful body of the faith; and seeing that that rational fuel of Mindòro would not allow themselves to be burned for their good, with the quickness that was desired: they thought it advisable to abandon the little for the much, and to go first to Ilòcos and secondly to Camarines where they hoped for more abundant fruits in return for their holy zeal.

790. In the year 1580 the religious of the holy Society of Jesus arrived at the islands. They, in the manner of swift angels ennobling and glorifying those hidden plains, expanded the habitation of Japhet, in order that he might possess the famous tents of Shem. Immediately, or very near the beginning, the superior detached excellent soldiers of that spiritual troop for the island of Mindòro, so that they might with the arms of the preaching destroy the altars dedicated to Belial by giving roots to the healthgiving sign of the cross. They obtained much; for after having penetrated the roughest mountains in search of heathens and Cimarrones they founded the village of Naojàn, with some other villages annexed to it. They enjoyed that ministry a long time with their accustomed success. The one who excelled in the missions of that island was Father Luis de Sanvictores, whose glorious memory and reputation for sanctity was conserved for many years among those Indians. They, notwithstanding the rudeness of their style, never spoke of him without praise. But that father having retired in order

to begin the conquest of the islands of Ladrões (which were afterward called Marianas), where he with glorious martyrdom gave the utmost encouragement, although others followed his attempts in Mindoro with great zeal; the Society finally abandoned that island into the hands of the archbishop.⁴² We cannot give the exact time of their resolution or the reasons which could move so zealous fathers to it, although we regard it as certain that they did it in order to employ themselves in other places where the evangelical fruit was more plentiful.

791. His Excellency the prelate immediately formed two curacies of the entire island, which he handed over to the secular clergy so that they might aid those souls. Later as the two could not fulfil that, a third cura had to be appointed. They carefully maintained what had been conquered, a territory that included the coasts along the north side extending from Bongabong to Calavite. But because there were very few Christians, since it is apparent that they did not exceed four thousand, who were scattered throughout various settlements or collections of huts along a distance of eighty leguas of coast, it was not to be supposed that those missions would produce enough income for three ministers. Consequently, they had necessarily to be aided with other incomes, which were solicited from the royal treasury, and with other pious foundations. Neither was that enough, so that at times it was very

⁴² Murillo Velarde (folio 123 verso, no. 306) records that two Jesuits were sent to Mindoro to work in the field of the seculars in 1640. Juan de Polanco, O.P., notes that about 1645 there were four or five Jesuits in Mindoro who worked among the people of the uplands (see Pastells's edition of Colin's *Labor evangelica*, iii, p. 735). San Antonio notes (i, p. 203) Jesuit residences in the jurisdiction of Mindoro.

difficult to find seculars to take charge of those districts. Those ministries were, it is true, scarce desirable, both because of the smallness of their stipends, because they carried with them unendurable hardships, and because of the unhealthfulness of the territory. But finally, moved, either by charity or by obedience, there was never a lack of zealous seculars who hastened with the bread of the instruction to those Indians. The curacies were consequently maintained there until the year 1679, when our discalced order took charge of the whole island for reasons which we shall now relate.

§ II

Being obliged to abandon the ministries of Zambales by force, our province of Philipinas assumes possession of the ministries of Mindoro, and obtains rare fruit with its preaching.

792. In the year 1606, that grain of mustard arrived in Manila, and although it was small, it produced the tree of most surpassing magnitude. I speak of our first mission which was composed at its arrival of a small number of religious. By preaching the glory of God and announcing the works of His power, so few men founded the greatness of that holy province among the illuminations of blind heathenism. It cannot be denied that by that time the sound of the word of God had reached all the Philipinas Islands, which had been announced by the illustrious champions who had preceded us in that vast archipelago, to wit, the calced Augustinians, the discalced Franciscans, the Jesuits and the Dominicans. But there cannot be any doubt either that, notwithstanding that all the above orders

had worked in the conversion of souls, with the most heroic fervor, some new locations in which they could enter to work were not lacking to Ours. The harvest was great and the laborers few; and since, however much those destined for that cultivation sweated in continual tenacity, they could not go beyond the limited sphere of man, hence it is that the Recollects on reaching that great vineyard at the hour of nine, equaled in merit those who gained their day's wages from the first hour. And in truth this will appear evident if one considers that even now, after so many years in which the sacerdotal tuba of the apostolic ministry has been incessantly exercised, not a few places are found in the said islands where the individuals of all orders are employed in living missions, and struggle with the most obstinate paganism.

793. The district where Ours first spread the gospel net was in the mountain range called *Zambàles*, in the middle part of which extending from *Marivèles* to *Bolinào* they obtained fish in great numbers, as has been told already in the preceding volumes. Those villages of *Zambàles* are located between ministries of the reverend Dominican fathers. For, since the latter held along the great bay of *Manila* on the side called *El Partido* almost at the foot of *Mount Batàn*, several missions contiguous to *Marivèles* and on the other side of *Bolinào*, the best portion of the *alcaldeship* of *Pangasinàn*, they also included in their midst the settlements of the *Zambals* now reduced to a Christian and civilized life by the missionaries of the Augustinian reformed order. For that reason the Dominicans had desired and even claimed without going beyond

the boundaries dictated by courtesy and good relationship that our prelates yield that territory to them, as it was suitable for the communication of the Dominicans among themselves between Pangasinan and Manila and would make their visits less arduous. But since that was a very painful proposition to those who governed our discalced order, namely, the abandonment of certain Indians who were the firstborn of their spirit, and a land watered by the blood of so many martyrs, the claim could never be made effectual, however much it was smoothed over by the name of exchange, our province being offered other ministries, in which was shown clearly the zeal of its individual members.

794. The one who made the greatest efforts in this direction was father Fray Phelipe Pardo, both times that he held the Dominican provincialate in the years 1662 and 1673. Although all of his efforts were then frustrated, he obtained great headway by them to obtain his purposes later. For May 30, 1676, his Majesty presented him for the office of archbishop of Manila. Thereupon he formed the notion that the new marks of the ecclesiastical dignity would be sufficient to add authority to argument. For, because of the respect to his person, surely worthy of the greatest promotion, we did not dare to condemn his attempt as unjust; and more even, when he obtained it, making amends to our reformed order for the wrong we received by a recompense which was fully justifiable in his eyes. A chance offered him a suitable occasion for his project in the following manner. Don Diego de Villatoro represented to the Council of the Indias that the island of Mindoro was filled with innumer-

able heathens all sunk in the darkness of their paganism; and that if its conquest were entrusted to any order, it would be very easy to illumine its inhabitants with the light of the faith. Therefore a royal decree was despatched, under date of Madrid, June 18, 1677, ordering the governor of the islands, together with the archbishop, to entrust the reduction of Mindoro to the order which appeared best fitted for it, before all things settling the curas who resided there in prebends or chaplaincies. That decree was presented to the royal Audiencia of Manila by Sargento-mayor Don Sebastian de Villarreal, October 31, 78, and since his Majesty's fiscal had nothing to oppose, it was obeyed without delay, and it was sent for fulfilment to the said archbishop, December 14 of the same year. On that account, his Excellency formed the idea of taking Zambales from us in order to augment his order and give the island of Mindoro to our discalced order.

795. He began, then, to discuss the matter without the loss of any time, and he did not stop until his designs were obtained, notwithstanding that he had to conquer innumerable difficulties. For, in the first place, our provincial, then father Fray Joseph de San Nicolàs, opposed it very strongly. The latter alleged that it would be a violation of the municipal constitutions of the Recollects to abandon the ministries of Zambales, for the constitutions expressly stated that none of the convents once possessed should be abandoned except under certain conditions, which were not present in the case under consideration. Besides that the Indian natives of Mindoro, both Christians and infidels, scarcely knew that there was a question of giving them min-

ister religious and begged Jesuit fathers with great instance, for they preserved yet the affection that they had conceived for them, since the time that the latter had procured for them with their preaching at the cost of many dangers their greatest welfare, omitting no means that could conduce to their withdrawal from the darkness of their paganism. And when the Zambals heard that the Recollect fathers were to be taken from their villages, in order to surrender them to the Dominicans, they declared almost in violent uproar that they would not allow such a change under any consideration, for they were unable to tolerate, because of the love which they professed for their spiritual ministers, to be forever deprived of their company, by which they had obtained so great progress in the Catholic faith.

796. But the archbishop found means in the hidden recesses of his prudence by which to conquer such obstacles. For in unison with Don Juan de Vargas Hurtado, governor and captain-general of the islands, he softened the provincial, Fray Joseph de San Nicolàs, and obliged him to agree to the exchange. He quieted the natives of Mindòro by means of their corregidor, so that they might receive the ministers of our discalced order, and availing himself of the services of the alcalde-mayor of Pangasinàn, he silenced the Zambal Indians so that they should take the privation of their Recollects gracefully, and lower the head to the admission of the Dominican fathers. Thereupon, the sea of opposition having been calmed, and after the three seculars who were administering to Mindòro had been assigned fitting competencies, which were provided

for them in Manila, an act of the royal Audiencia provided that our reformed order should be entrusted with the administration of the said island, with absolute clauses which established it in the said royal decree, and without the least respect the abandonment of the Zambal missions. Then immediately preceding the juridical surrender of them, which was signed by the above-mentioned father provincial, although it was protested by only the father lector, Fray Joseph de la Assumpcion, and father Fray Francisco de la Madre de Dios, a second act was passed by which the missions were assigned to the fathers of St. Dominic. Thus did the archbishop have a complete victory.

797. By virtue of those decrees, which were announced to our provincial, April 17, 1679, that holy province was dispossessed of all the Zambal mountain range, which then contained eleven villages. They were also dispossessed of the missions which father Fray Joseph de la Trinidad was then fomenting in the nearby mountains by the far-reaching fruits of his apostolic preaching, as we have mentioned worthily in another place.⁴³ The individual members of the province of Santo Rosario hastened to take charge of the ministries and missions of the Zambals which had been surrendered to them by Ours without the least disturbance being observed publicly, although almost all of those governed by the said Father Trinidad threatened violence. Those juridical measures, with what was done in Manila, served much later for the recovery of Zambales without the loss of the new possessions of Mindoro. The necessary papers

⁴³ A sidenote reference is to nos. 400, 715, *ante*.

were also despatched directed to the corregidor of Mindoro, ordering him to deliver the ministries of that island to the discalced Augustinians. Without loss of time, the father definitor, Fray Diego de la Madre de Dios, assumed charge of the district of Baco, while the bachelor Don Joseph de Roxas who possessed it left it. The curacy of Calavite was taken possession of by father Fray Diego de la Resurreccion, who took the place of Licentiate Don Juan Pedrosa. The parish of Naoyan was taken charge of by the father definitor, Fray Eugenio de los Santos, the bachelor, Don Martin Diaz, being removed. All that was concluded before the end of the year 1679 without disturbance, lawsuits, or dissensions.

798. The above-mentioned religious were accompanied by three others of whose names we are ignorant. Immediately did that holy squadron commence to announce the testimony of Christ, with sermons founded on the manifestation of virtue, spirit, and example, and not on illusory persuasion which is built on naught but words, which are confirmatory of human wisdom. They considered especially that they had to give strict account of those souls whose direction had just been given them. Consequently, they watched over their flock, hastening to their sheep with the right food, without avoiding the greatest fatigue. Hence could one recognize the great good fortune of the island of Mindoro, for in the territory where three seculars at most, and generally only two, lived formerly, six evangelical laborers had enough to do. They were later increased to eight, and that number was never or but rarely decreased. Each of them on his part

produced most abundant fruits at that time, and under all circumstances the same has been obtained. For although the common enemy diffused much discord during the first tasks of their apostolic labor in order thereby to choke the pure grain of the divine word by making use therefor of a man, namely, Admiral Don Joseph de Chaves, encomendero of almost the entire island, at last by Ours exercising their innate prudence and their unalterable patience, the grace of God was triumphant, while the attempts of Satan were a mockery.

799. Father Fray Juan Francisco de San Antonio remarked very forcibly of our discalced religious that, "although they were the last gospel laborers in Philipinas, they have competed in their apostolic zeal with the first laborers in the fruits that they gathered from their labors in the reduction of the most barbarous islanders."⁴⁴ And the father master, Fray Joseph Sicardo, adds very fittingly, that "our discalced religious having received the great island of Mindoro, increased the Christianity of its natives by means of so zealous ministers."⁴⁵ Then, as appears from juridical instruments before me, although the Christians throughout the island when our reformed order assumed charge of it did not exceed four thousand, in the year 1692 they already exceeded the number of eight thousand, and in the year 1716 arrived to the number of twelve thousand. It is a fact that the persecution by the Moros happening afterward (of which something was said

⁴⁴ Our author refers in a sidenote to San Antonio, i, p. 207.

⁴⁵ A sidenote reference is to folio 80 of Joseph Sicardo's *Christianidad del Japon*, . . . *Memorias sacras de los martyres de las ilustres religiones* . . . *con especialdad, de los religiosos del orden de S. Augustin* (Madrid, 1698).

incidentally in volume three,⁴⁶ and which will in due time add much to this history) the number of believers was greatly lessened; for some retired to other islands, where the war was not so cruel, others were taken to Jolò in dire captivity, and others surrendered their lives to so great a weight of misfortune. Notwithstanding that, in the year 1738, when father Fray Juan Francisco de San Antonio printed his first volume, it appeared by trustworthy documents that Ours administered seven thousand five hundred and fifty-two souls in the various villages, visitas, missions, and rancherías in that island.⁴⁷ Hence, one may infer that our zealous brothers have labored there especially in destroying paganism and reducing the many Zimarrònes or apostates who, having thrown off all obedience, had built themselves forts in those mountains. And if not few of both classes remain obstinate, it does not proceed certainly from any omission that has been found in our zealous workers, but from other causes which are already suggested in other parts of this present volume.

800. Neither can one make from this progress of the Catholic faith which was attained by the preaching of our religious, any inferences against the other laborers who began to subdue the island, or against the secular clergy, who administered it afterward. The Observant fathers, as a rule, employed there no more than one missionary or at the

⁴⁶ A sidenote refers to Santa Theresa, no. 740 ff.

⁴⁷ A sidenote refers to San Antonio, i, p. 207. The present total population of Mindoro (according to the *Census of the Philippines* ii, p. 407) is 28,361, of which the civilized or Christian people number 21,097. The native peoples include Bicol, Ilocanos, Mangyans, Pampangans, Pangasináns, Tagálogs, Visayans, and Zambals. The wild people are all Mangyans.

most two. The number of the fathers of St. Francis was no larger, and they had charge at times of the district of Balayàn as well as of Mindòro. Since the fathers of the Society had so much to attend to in so many parts, two or three of them took care of Mindòro and Marinduque. Consequently, one ought not to be surprised that so small a number of laborers did not do more, but, that they had done so much must surely astonish him who considers it thoroughly. In the same way the parish priests, who succeeded them, were very few, and since the reduced Indians occupied so extensive a coast, they had scarce enough time to administer the bread of the doctrine to the Christians, so that they had none left to penetrate into the mountains in search of the Zimarrònes or of the heathen Manguiànes.⁴⁸ But, on the contrary, from the time that that island was delivered to our teaching, the number of missionaries has been doubled or tripled. It is evident that victories must generally increase in proportion to the increase of the soldiers in the campaign, even in what concerns spiritual wars.

801. This argument has more force, if it be considered that the evangelical laborers having increased afterward with so great profit, they asserted that at times the greatest strength accompanied by gigantic zeal was given up as conquered, by the continual toil indispensable in the administration of the faithful, for to that task was added the care of the conversion of the heathen. That toil was so excessive that the night generally came without the

⁴⁸ See *ante*, note 47. See also the *Census of the Philippines* (i, pp. 472, 473, 547, 548), which says that the Mangyans are probably a mixture of Negritos with other native peoples, and possibly some slight infusion of white blood in some localities.

fathers having obtained a moment of rest in order to pay the debt of the divine office. At times they had to neglect the care of their own bodies in order to attend to the souls of their neighbors. They were always busied in teaching the instruction to children and adults; in administering the holy sacraments, although they had to go three or four leguas to the places where the dying persons were; and in penetrating the rough mountains in the center of the island, in order to allure the heathens and apostates to the healthful bosom of the Church. To all the above (which even now is, as it were, a common characteristic of all our missionaries in Philipinas) is added the extreme poverty there, and the lack of necessities that they endured. For, the reduced product from those villages, in regard to the ecclesiastical stipend, which was formerly insufficient to support two or three curas with great misery, was now sufficient to support six or more religious. Consequently, they endured it with the greatest hardship.

§ III

Information of the convents which were founded in that island, and the miracles with which God confirmed the Catholic religion which Ours were preaching.

802. Trampling under foot, then, the above discomforts and others which are omitted, those illustrious champions attended to the exact fulfilment of the spiritual administration, employing themselves in the exercise of missionaries in order to reduce the heathens to the Catholic sheepfold. In the belief that it would be very conducive to the extension of the Christian religion to establish convents in the

new territory which they were cultivating, they began to set their hands to the work. The first foundation which they established was in the village of Bào, where the corregidor was residing at that time, although that convent was later moved to Calapàn. Two religious were placed there in residence, and they looked after the spiritual administration in several rancherías. Those rancherías have increased with the lapse of time to a great number of Christians, and have become villages that are not to be despised, having been formed anew by the zeal of our apostolic laborers. The villages comprehended in that district in the year 1733 are the following: Calapàn, which is the chief one, where the convent is located; Bào, Subàn, Ilog, Minòlo, and Camoròn, which are annexed villages or visitas, as they are called there. Our church of Calapàn is enriched with an image of Christ our Lord, which represents Him in His infancy; and on that account it is called the convent of Santo Niño [*i.e.*, Holy Child]. That image is conspicuous in continual miracles and is the consolation of all the Indians of Mindòro. For a long history might be written by only relating the marvels which the divine power has worked by it; now giving health to many sick unto death; now freeing villages from locusts which were destroying the fields, now succoring not a few boats which driven by violent storms were running down the Marinduque coast, whose sailors were in the greatest danger of being drowned in the water, or the ship of grounding on the shoals of the land.

803. [One miracle is related of a Recollect in Calapàn who having acquired two hundred pesos determined to send it home to Spain to his mother

who was very poor, without saying anything to the provincial as he was in duty bound to do. Being very observant in his outward duties, he said mass before the image just previous to sending the money to America on a ship which appeared opportunely, but the image turned its back on him. Thereupon, being convicted of sin, he burst into tears, and was thereafter free from such temptations.]

804. The above case happened years after when the convent was established in Calapàn. Let us now examine other marvels, which happened at Bâco, near the beginning, which were of great use for the extension of the Catholic name. The father definitor, Fray Diego de la Madre de Dios, who was the founder of that house, was surely a holy man, and was venerated as such in Manîla. Notwithstanding that, however, a corregidor took to persecuting him by word and deed. The servant of God bore the personal insults with great patience, although it pained him to the soul to see that the corregidor's contempt was resulting in prejudice to the Catholic religion. He practiced several secret efforts ordered by charity in order to restrain the corregidor's tongue, but seeing that they were insufficient, generally chided in a sermon the evil employment of sacrilegious mouths which, taking the gospel laborers as the object of their detractions, prevent the fruit of their preaching, although they should aid in the attainment of so holy an end. The chief culprit was present, toward whom without naming him the father directed his aim; and since, after one has once left the hand of God, he precipitates himself easily from one abyss to another (angered by the pain which was caused him by the medicine, which was

being applied prudently in order to cure him of his pain and indiscreetly abusing the authority which resided in his person), he rose in anger, with the determination to impose silence on the father who (if he was talking) it was, for his own [*i. e.*, the corregidor's] good. "Sacrilegious preacher" he exclaimed, but when he attempted to continue his face was suddenly twisted, and he could not utter a word, and he was extremely disfigured and was attacked by most intense pains. He was taken to his house, where the venerable father attended him, and by his only making the sign of the cross above the corregidor's mouth the patient was restored to his former state of health in body, while in soul he was completely changed. The courage to make public penitence for his public crimes, and to return his credit entirely to so holy a religious did not fail him.

805. [The same father although very sick with fever did not hesitate, aided by spiritual forces, to go to a distance to administer to a sick person who had urgently requested his presence—a fact that conduced not a little to the conversion of the natives round about.]

806 [and 807]. The second convent was founded in the village of Naojàn by the father definitior, Fray Eugenio de los Santos, and St. Nicholas of Tolentino was assigned it as titular. Besides the said principal village, it had in its charge six annexed villages of visitas, namely, Pòla, Pinamalayàn, Balente, Sumàgay, Maliguo, and Bongàbong. However, with the change of the district of Mangàrin, of which we shall speak later, there was some variation in the distribution of those settlements. That ministry is one of the first in authority in the island,

because of the great number of parishioners to which it has increased, because a great multitude of heathen Manguianes who have been converted to our holy faith, have gone thither to live, as well as a not small number of apostate Christians, who were wandering at liberty through those mountains. All that was obtained by the preaching of our laborers by whose efforts three of the said villages were re-established. [Two prodigies or miraculous occurrences which are related aided in the christianizing of this convent.]

808 [and 809]. Another and third convent was established in the convent of Calavite by the efforts of father Fray Diego de la Resurreccion, and its titular was Nuestra Señora del Populo [*i.e.*, Our Lady of the People]. It has the annexed villages of Dòngon, Santa Cruz, Mambùrao, Tubìli, and Santo Thomàs. Of those settlements, those that are on the coast which extends from Calavite to Mangàrin, have been founded for the most part by dint of the zeal of our religious. They formerly had many Christians, although at present they have suffered a remarkable diminution because of the persecutions of the Moros which we have already mentioned. [An epidemic that was raging throughout this district when the convent was founded was checked miraculously. In the same district, a heathen Manguian chief who had opposed the new faith surrendered to the personal solicitation of Fray Diego de la Resurreccion, and became a good Christian, and afterward aided in the conversion of many others. The district was miraculously cleared of the pest of locusts which were destroying all the fields.]

810 [and 811]. The fourth convent was erected in the village of Mangàrin under the advocacy of our father, St. Augustine. Its prior also governed the villages of Guàsìg, Manàol, Ililin, and Bulalâcao. However, the provincial chapter of 1737 ordered that house removed to Bongàbong, for reasons that they considered most sufficient, namely, because Mangàrin was ruined by the continual invasions of the Moros, and because of its poor temperature, which put an end to the health of almost all the religious. For that reason, the distribution of the annexed villages of Naojàn, Mangàrin, and Calavite in another manner was inevitable, so that the correct administration of the doctrina might be more promptly administered. But the convents above mentioned always were left standing, and serve as plazas de armas, where those soldiers of Jesus take refuge in order to go out in the island to war against the armies of Satan. It can be stated confidently that the district of which we have been speaking, has been conquered by our reformed order; for when we entered Mindòro, scarcely was the name of Christ known there, while at present there are many souls there who follow the banners of the cross, and all the power of hell, incited by Mahometan infidelity, has not availed to destroy the deep roots of its faith. On the contrary we have wondered greatly at the power of the divine grace in those neophytes, for after their belief has been proved many times, as gold in the crucible, in the fire of the most raging persecution it has gone up [a number of] carats in value and purity. [This district was also the scene of a miracle or prodigy that showed the force of God and the faith.]

812. Besides the above-mentioned convents, a mission was begun some years later in the mountains of Mindoro for the purpose of reducing the Manguianes heathen. Although many of them had been converted, allured by the zeal of various religious, still not a few remained in the darkness of paganism for lack of ministers, who could busy themselves without any other occupation in busying themselves in illumining them with the evangelical light. That was so abundant a field that it could keep many laborers busy. Thus the project was formed by the province to keep at least three subjects busy in it, so that each one, so far as he might be able, might put his hand to the plough, and without turning back, cultivate so extensive a land, which was capable of producing an infinite amount of fruit for the table of glory. But since the missionaries maintain themselves there at the cost of the royal treasury, which is almost always in a state of too great exhaustion, so well conceived a desire had to be satisfied with one single preacher, whom the superior government assigned for that purpose, although the province assigns others at its own expense, when its too great poverty does not prevent, or the lack of men, so usual there. The residence of those missionaries in the village of Ilog was determined upon and a suitable convent was established there. From that place, entering the mountains frequently, they began to fell their rational thickets, in order to fertilize them with the waters of irrigation of the divine grace, so that the seed of their apostolic preaching might be received. By means of the laborious eagerness of the sowers who have succeeded them, a great portion of that arid desert has been transformed into the most charming garden. When I left Philipinas in

the year 1738, it still existed as a most fruitful mission and there were well founded hopes that if Apollos water the plants established by Paul, it will receive the most abundant increase from God.⁴⁹

813. [The way was blazed also in the mountain mission with miraculous occurrences that proclaimed the true God.] It appears impossible that their inhabitants should not come to know God and should not run breathless after the odoriferous delicacies of His goodness. There is still much to do in this regard, for a great number of infidels still live in the said mountains, and if thirty missionaries were assigned there, they would not lack employment. But let us praise God for what has been accomplished, petitioning Him to crown so memorable beginnings with a good end.

[The fourth section of this chapter does not treat of the Philippines.]

CHAPTER X

The province of Philipinas again receives the ministries of Calamiànes, which it had previously abandoned. Abundance of fruit is gathered there. Some religious die in España.

The year 1681

§ I

Our religious begin again to preach the faith in the islands of Calamiànes; and the great fruit which they gather in the conversion of many heathen.

823. [The Recollect missionaries of Philipinas can rightly be called apostolic because of their zeal.]

824. In the year 1661, the Chinese pirate Kue-

⁴⁹ The reference is to I Corinthians iii, 6.

sing sent an embassy to the Philipinas Islands, demanding nothing less than the vassalage of them all, and threatening the Spaniards who did not comply with what he called their obligation that they would feel all the weight of war on themselves. We have already treated of this matter in another place.⁵⁰ So far as we have to do with the matter here, various measures were taken in the islands because of the fears caused by the threat, in order that they might be defended in case that Kuesing fulfilled it. One of those measures was the abandonment of the presidios of Terrenate, Zamboangan, Calamiànes, and others, in order that they might be able to employ their troops, artillery, and munitions of war in defending the most important places. That decree was opposed very strongly, but the objections although they were thoroughly based on reason could not prevent such action being taken. Consequently, at the end of 1662 or at the beginning of 63 the presidios were actually withdrawn, and the Christian villages were left more exposed than ever to the invasions of the Moros. That so fatal resolution was also necessarily accompanied by the withdrawal of the evangelical ministers, for the fathers of the Society abandoned Zamboangan and other sites, and our Recollect family the Calamiànes. Although no special regret was shown for that action at that time by the superior government of Manila, to whom belongs the duty of furnishing spiritual ministers to the subject villages, yet years afterward the wrong was recognized, and the remedy was procured in due manner.

825. The most fruitful preaching of Ours in the

⁵⁰ A sidenote here refers to nos. 32-38 *ante*.

islands of Calamiànes has been already related in volume II;⁵¹ as has also the conversion of their inhabitants, until then heathens; the marvels which divine Omnipotence worked there; the convents which were established for the extension of the Catholic faith; and the hardships endured by the missionaries in spreading it. Now, then, it must be noted that eight religious were well employed in all the islands of that jurisdiction, who looked after the spiritual administration of the Christian Indians and the conversion of the idolaters who were not few. But when they withdrew, only two remained in charge of the islands of Cuyo and Agutàya while the six betook themselves to Manila or wherever their obedience assigned them. The place occupied by the six (where they labored to excess, as there were many Indians and they were spread out into many islands and settlements) was given to one single secular priest. He having his residence in Taytày, did as much as he was able in the other villages. But it is more than certain that he could do very little, if he did perchance succeed in doing anything. In this regard one can visibly see the spiritual wrong which followed those vassals of the king. Even an undeniable loss resulted to the royal treasury, for in a few years the Indian tributes were lessened almost by half. But notwithstanding that, neither Governor Don Diego de Salcedo nor the bishop of Zebù, to whom it belonged in its various aspects to supply the remedy of one and the other wrong, would manifest that they understood it.

826. Thus did things go on for seventeen years

⁵¹ The original refers at this point to Luis de Jesús, folios 36, 42 ff.

until the year 1680, when the Indian chiefs of Calamiànes having united among themselves, presented a memorial to Governor Don Juan de Bargas Hurtado. In it, after mentioning the wrongs above mentioned, and the love which they always professed to our religious, their first ministers, they urgently petitioned that the Augustinian Recollects be assigned them as parish priests. The fact that the cura, Don Antonio de Figueròà, the only missionary in Calamiànes, in addition to having been presented for the curacy of Tabùco in the archbishopric of Manila, had now been sick for two months and unable to administer the sacraments, lent force to that representation. On that account he petitioned with double justice that a successor be sent to him, but no secular ecclesiastic could be found who knew the language of the country, nor would risk the mission which was now of but very small profit. For those reasons, the abovesaid governor despatched an order to our provincial on May 11 of the said year, asking and charging him, and even ordering him in the king's name, to assign religious of his order, in order that they might go to reassume possession of the villages of Calamiànes, so that they might attend to its spiritual administration. He hoped that by means of their wonted zeal, that province would be restored to its former splendor through their direction and teaching, and that the number of the Christians would increase in the proportion desired.

827. But notwithstanding that, the father provincial negotiated with his definitory in order to interpose a supplication in regard to the said act, and refused to send evangelical laborers, the total cause of such action being the lack of religious. He

alleged, then, that since his province had assumed charge of the ministries of the Contracosta and of Mindoro, where many subjects were employed; and in consideration of the lack of men which the dis-calded order suffered there, which could not be helped: not only was it clearly impossible for him to assign missionaries to Calamiànes, but also that he saw that it was necessary for the reformed branch to reiterate his petition made previously to the royal Audiencia, in regard to withdrawing the two ministers who were occupied in the island of Cùyo, as there was a notable lack in other villages. That allegation was sent by decree of the superior government to Don Diego Antonio de Viga, of the Council of his Majesty and his fiscal in the Audiencia of Manila. On the sixteenth of the same month and year, he maintained that notwithstanding the representation made by the father provincial (since no other order contained ministers who understood the language of the Calamiànes), the necessary provision must be despatched, in accordance with the second and last warning, ordering the Recollect province to establish missionaries in Calamiànes and not to withdraw those of Cùyo. He was confident in the apostolic zeal with which they have ever applied themselves to the ministry, that notwithstanding their small number they would accomplish the task which demanded many laborers.

828. The governor conformed to the plea of the fiscal. Consequently, on the same day he despatched in due form a second decree in the king's name, ordering the superior prelate of our province, in consideration of the extreme necessity of the islands of Calamiànes, to immediately establish the necessary

ministers therein for the spiritual consolation of those Indians. He added that Don Fray Diego de Aguilar of the Order of Preachers, the bishop recently appointed for Zebù (to whose miter the said islands belonged) despatched ex-officio his decree also charging our province with the administration of all the Christian villages established in Calamiànes, or that were to be established in the future; and says that he does so in consideration of the apostolic zeal of our reformed order and the spirit that always assists them in trampling under foot the greatest fatigues, so that many souls might be gathered into the flock of the Catholic church. Thereupon the father provincial, Fray Thomàs de San Geronimo, could offer no more resistance and sent father Fray Nicolàs de Santa Ana as vicar-provincial of Calamiànes, with two associates. The alcalde-mayor of the said province, Don Diego Bi-bièn Henriquez, placed them in possession of the ministry of Taytày (which is the chief one of them all) on the first of November, 1680, to the universal joy of the Indians. The latter showed by extraordinary festivals their joy at seeing that the direction of their spirits was in charge of the same fathers who had engendered them through the gospel. The king, by his decree dated December 24, 1682, confirmed the said possession at the petition of the father commissary of Philipinas, Fray Juan de la Madre de Dios, with great signs of his royal pleasure.

829. Of the three religious newly assigned, father Fray Nicolàs established his residence in Taytày; the second was located in the island of Dumaràn; and the third in the village of Tancòn. From those places they labored according to their strength, until

the arrival at Philipinas of the band of missionaries which was conducted by the father commissary, Fray Juan de la Madre de Dios, which entered Manila in October 1684, when a greater number of missionaries could be assigned, as was very necessary for the direction of so many Indians. For the extensive territory which was formerly administered by only one cura, has later given worthy employment to five, six, or seven of our religious, to say nothing of the two at the least, who have been stationed continually in the islands of Cùyo. Hence one may infer how much the Catholic faith has been extended there, now by reducing into the villages the many natives who had fled to the mountains, after abandoning almost entirely their Christian obligations; now by undeceiving others who lack but little of becoming Moros, because of their nearness and intercourse with those people; and now by penetrating into the roughest mountains of Paràgua in order to draw the souls from the darkness of paganism to the agreeable light of the Christian religion.

830. In regard to these particulars, we consider it necessary to reproduce at this point a portion of a letter written May 28, 1683, to our father vicar-general, Fray Juan de la Presentacion, by the recently-elected father provincial of those islands, Fray Isidoro de Jesus Maria, a person well known in Europa for the literary productions which he has published. He speaks, then, as follows: "The urgings of the Indians of the province of Calamiànes to the ecclesiastical and secular government and to my predecessors, have availed so much, that this province has judged that the precept of Christian charity demands us to return to that administration, trust-

ing in God our Lord for the relief of the very great disadvantages which had compelled our religious who had administered and reared that field of Christendom from its beginning, to withdraw from that province. At the present it has increased by more than two thousand souls who have been drawn from the mountains in less than three years, as can be seen from the relations sent to the chapter. Greater fruits are hoped for, because in the past year of 82, the ambassador of the king of Bornei in the name of his prince, arranged with the governor of these islands for the cession of a not small amount of land and number of settlements, which are subject to the said Bornei—one in the island of Paràgua, one of the islands of Calamiànes. The confirmation of the pact with his ambassador is awaited from Bornei, so that that district may really be incorporated with the rest which is subject to the king our sovereign; and consequently, to introduce by means of our religious, the Catholic faith among those new vassals of his Majesty.”

831. Then he goes on to treat of the unsupportable hardships suffered in Calamiànes by the evangelical ministers. I have thought it best not to omit his relation, in order that one may see how much merit is acquired in the promulgation of the faith amid such anxieties. “But the devil,” he continues, “who watches that he may not lose the souls of which he finds himself in *quasi* possession, has raised up at this time a cloud of dust, by which he has prevented and is preventing in many of these remote parts the obtaining of many souls and is occasioning the loss of others. For as I am advised by the letters of the religious of Calamiànes, under date of the

eighteenth of the current month and of the twenty-second of the past month of April, that the alcaldes-mayor who have governed that jurisdiction (and even more he who is governing it at present, who is a lad of 21, a servant of the governor and of these islands) cause so great and continual troubles both to the father ministers and to the natives of the country, that the latter, although Christians, have retired from their villages of Taytày, Dumaràn, and Paràgua to the mountains in order to escape their intolerable oppression. They exclaim that they are not withdrawing from obedience to his Majesty and that they do not intend to abandon their profession as Christians, but that they do not dare to live in the more than enslaved condition in which the alcaldes-mayor, carried away by their insatiable greed, confine them. The father prior of Taytày writes me that he has entered the mountains with every danger from the enemy, in search of his terrified and scattered sheep; and notwithstanding all the efforts and warnings that he has made and given them he has not been able to succeed in getting them to return to their villages, unless another alcalde-mayor be assigned to them, and relief offered for the extreme oppression that is offered to them. They answer the arguments of the father by telling him not to tire himself, 'for we can ill hope,' they say, 'that he who tramples on the sacred dignity of a priest, will have any moderation with regard to us.' They assert this because they saw that the last alcalde-mayor lifted his cane against father Fray Domingo de San Agustin, and struck him while he was putting on his clerical robes to say mass; and that the present alcalde-mayor treated the religious with in-

dignity even to the point of taking from them the one who takes them their necessary support, so that they have had to find for themselves the water that they drink. He has taken from them the sacristans and other servants of the Church without leaving them even anyone to aid them in the mass. He has forbidden the Indians to enter the convent or to assist in any of the things to which they are obliged. He has forbidden them to go out as they ought to the visitas, and to confess, preach, and catechize. It is all directed to the end that the Indians might not be busied in anything else than in getting wax for the alcalde-mayor. Hence this is the source and beginning of the troubles suffered by the poor Indians. They are not only not permitted to make use of their natural right, but are prevented from giving the due execution to his Majesty's orders, from entering and going out, from trading and trafficking one with another, and one village with another, for if they have anything to buy or to sell, it must be entirely for the alcalde-mayor. These notices are necessarily communicated in the lands of the infidels. Just consider, your Reverence, what will be the condition of their minds, when we try to reduce them to the knowledge of our good God, and to the obedience of the king our sovereign. I have informed the governor in regard to this, and since I do not expect any relief from his hand, I entreat your Reverence to procure it from the royal piety with the memorial and documents adjoined. If not we shall have to appeal to God, for such troubles are of very frequent occurrence in various parts of these islands. We never cease to wonder when we see some Spaniards here who are so destitute of Chris-

tian considerations, and so clothed in greed, God so permitting by His lofty judgments, in exchange for the martyrdoms that are lacking to us religious in Japon.

832. We believe, although we are not altogether sure, that the suitable relief was given on one and the other side, for in the following years, we find that the Catholic faith made very extraordinary gains in Calamiànes. This is proved by the reestablishment of the ancient convents and ministries. It appears that the chapter of 1686 erected a new mission in the village of Tancòn which was later moved to the village of Culiòn. The chapter of 1695 established another distinct mission in the island of Dumaràn, and that of 1698 a third one in the island of Lincapàn; and we see that that of 1746 has added two other ministries, the first in the island of Alutaya, and the second in the village of Calatàn. That is sure proof of the increase of the Christians, when the evangelical laborers are so increased. In regard to the above we must mention what appears from acts and judicial reports which the superior government of Manila sent to the Council of the Indias, and which are conserved in its secretary's office in the department of Nueva España; namely, that when our province of Calamiànes was again given to us, all the islands contained only 4,500 Christian souls, but that in the year 1715 they amounted to 18,600. And even after the continual and furious persecution, which is mentioned briefly in the third volume⁵² had intervened, with which it is undeniable that the number of believers had decreased greatly, father Fray Juan

⁵² A sidenote reference is to Santa Theresa, no. 740 ff.

Francisco de San Antonio notes in the history of his province of San Gregorio de Philipinas⁵³ that there were 21,076 Christian souls in the islands of Calamiànes and Romblòn in the year 1735. Hence subtracting about five thousand from that number for those of the island of Romblòn, there is a remainder of about sixteen thousand for Calamiànes.⁵⁴ Let us give praises to God who thus maintains the zeal of those fervent laborers and crowns their fatigues with so abundant fruits.

[Section ii of this chapter mentions the virtues and holiness of some of the Indians of the missions of Calamiànes. The first mentioned was one Joseph Bagumbàyan, a native of Taytày, who was reared in the convent of that village by the Recollects. The rearing of such children is described as follows: "The holy orders of Philipinas are wont to take account of the sons of the chief Indians of the villages under their charge, in order to teach them

⁵³ A sidenote reference is to San Antonio, i, p. 215.

⁵⁴ The present population of the island of Romblón is 9,347, all civilized. This must be differentiated from the province of Romblón, which contains a number of islands, and has a population of 52,848. The Calamianes or Culiòn group is located in the southwestern part of the archipelago between Mindoro and Paragua between lat. 11° 39' and 12° 20' N., and long. 119° 47' and 120° 23' E., or a sea area of 1,927 square miles. This group consists of well over 100 islands, islets, and mere rocks, many of them unnamed. The largest islands in the group are Busuanga, Calamian, and Linacapan. The population of Calamianes is given as follows for a number of years: 1876, 16,403; 1885, 21,573; 1886, 17,594; 1887, 16,016; 1888, 14,739; 1889, 16,876; 1891, 18,391; 1892, 18,053; 1893, 19,292; 1894, 18,540; 1895, 16,186; 1896, 15,620; 1897, 15,661; 1898, 14,283. While the falling off in later years may be accounted for possibly by the movements of population during the insurrectionary period, it must be assumed that the returns for the earlier years are incorrect, for they would not naturally vary so greatly from year to year. See *U. S. Philippine Gazetteer*, pp. 412-415; and *Census of the Philippines*, ii, pp. 197, 198, 405; and iii, pp. 12-16.

good morals from childhood, and rear them with those qualities which are considered necessary to enable them to govern their respective villages afterward with success, since the administration of justice is always put in charge of such Indians. They live in the convents from childhood in charge of the gravest fathers. The latter are called masters, although in strictness they are tutors or teachers who would right gladly avoid such service. In this meaning, and in no other, must one understand whatever is said about our religious having servants in the Philipinas. I have heard scruples expressed here in España over this bare kind [of service], when it ought to be a matter for edification to see that in addition to the truly gigantic toils that our brothers there load upon their shoulders, they voluntarily take this very troublesome one of rearing a few children who serve only to exercise the patience." Joseph strove to imitate the fathers as much as possible, in self sacrifice and austerity, and desired to become a *donné*, "which was the most to which he could aspire, since he was only an Indian." That, however, being denied him, he was enrolled in the confraternity of the Correa or girdle, and admitted as a spiritual brother of the Recollect order. He acted as teacher of boys for over fifty years, teaching them reading, writing, arithmetic, and music. At his death he was buried in the Recollect church at Tay-tày. One of the boys taught by Joseph was Bartolomé Lingón. At the age of fifteen he was appointed to assist Fray Alonso de San Agustin or Garcias, who arrived in Philipinas in 1684 and was sent immediately to Calamiànes. Although he desired to remain unmarried, he was married at the request of the missionaries to a devout woman named Magdalena

Iling. He acted as the chief sacristan of the Recollect church in Taytày, ever taking great delight in the service of the church and his duties therein. He survived his wife three years, dying in January 1696. His wife had been born in Laguna de Paràgua but had lived in Taytày most of her life with a Christian aunt. Although she wished to devote her life exclusively to religion she was persuaded by the religious to marry Bartolomè. Her devotion led her to teach the girls of the village without pay. Of a gentle disposition she was yet unyielding on occasions of necessity and although tempted by an alcalde-mayor who was enamored of her beauty and made improper proposals to her, she ever maintained her virtue. At her death by cancer of the breast, she was buried in the Recollect church. The last two sections of this chapter have nothing on the Philippines.]

DECADE TEN

[The first chapter of this decade does not treat of the Philippines.]

CHAPTER II

Our province of Philipinas attempts a mission to Great China. The life of the venerable brother Fray Martin de San Francisco.

The year 1682

§ I

Relation of the anxiety which our province of Philipinas has always had to extend its apostolic preaching to China; and the great effort made in 1682 for that purpose.

[The story of the Recollect attempt to evangelize in China is one of failure, notwithstanding the earnest efforts made by that order to send laborers to that

empire. Shortly after the closing of Japanese ports to all missionaries in 1640, the Philippine Recollects began to work up the foreign mission field, but it was not until 1650 that they were able to present memorials to the Roman court, which proved unavailing as the Italians and French were already on the ground in many of the Asiatic countries. In 1667 the father provincial, Fray Juan de la Madre de Dios, received decrees in blank ordering him to send laborers to China, but the royal treasury was in no position to aid them, and the wars both in the islands and in China also prevented the proposed spiritual invasion. Many other mandatory decrees from the king met the same fate, but in the chapter of 1680, the order determined to make the mission if they had to supply all the funds themselves. Three men were told off to study the language in order to prepare for the work in China, and in 1682, one did actually get as far as Macan, but the opposition of the civil authorities there proved the deathknell to all hopes at that time. Again in 1701, and in 1704, abortive attempts were made to enter the great empire, the last being coeval with the arrival of the apostolic visitor Cardinal Tournon.]

[The second section of this chapter treats of Spanish matters.]

CHAPTER III

A fine mission leaves España for Philipinas; and the venerable father Fray Christoval de San Joseph leaves this for the eternal life.

The year 1683

§ 1

Of the missions of our religious who reached Philipinas during the years of these three decades, and

in especial of the mission which made its voyage this year 1683 to the not small luster of the Catholic religion.

. . . 908. The third volume has already related that a mission left España in the year 1660 in charge of father Fray Eugenio de los Santos.⁵⁵ He brought in that mission, however, only eighteen choir religious and two lay brothers whose names I have been unable to ascertain, as the instruments with which I would have to do so have not come to me from España. They all reached Mexico in the above-mentioned year and since because of various accidents that happened during the voyage, in the islands and in the port of Cavite no ships came from Philipinas to Nueva España, either that year or the two following, the mission had to stay in the said city all that time incurring the expenses and fatal consequences that one can understand. In the year 1662 the viceroy of Mexico despatched a boat to the islands to get a report of their condition, for there was fear that they had been invaded by enemies. One of those missionaries ventured in that boat, and arriving at Manila it caused not a little rejoicing to the inhabitants there. The next year ships from Philipinas were seen in the port of Acapulco, and as a consequence fourteen religious took passage in them and arrived at Manila in August 1663, and not in 1684 as was wrongly reported in volume three. The five others remained in Nueva España, but they afterwards reached their destination and all served in those fields of Christendom where they were of great use.

909. Father Fray Christoval de Santa Monica,

⁵⁵ A sidenote refers to Santa Theresa, no. 1228.

after having been provincial of Philipinas, to which dignity he was elected in the year 1656, was appointed in 63, to come to España in order to collect and lead a mission. He came then, having received on the way not a few favors from St. Nicholas of Tolentino – favors which he received under the appreciable quality of miracles, but which we cannot specify for lack of documents. He negotiated in Madrid as successfully as could be desired, and collected a mission of twenty-four religious, all generally of good qualities and with the characteristics that are desired in that province. He set sail with that valiant squadron June 16, 1666. [After various miraculous happenings on the way, the vessel reached Vera Cruz in safety, whence the passengers went across the peninsula to Acapulco. August of 1667 the Recollects all reached Manila save two who remained in Mexico for another year because of sickness.]

910. In the year 1668, the venerable father Fray Juan de la Madre de Dios, of Blancas, was elected president of Mexico in the provincial chapter of Mexico, and father Fray Agustin de Santa Monica, commissary for España. The latter died aboard ship, and on that account, when the former arrived at Mexico, he found an order within two years to go to the court of Madrid in order to discuss some matters of not small magnitude, and to give his vote for the province in the general chapter. The authority and money for the conduction of a mission were long delayed, but at last he received them both at the end of 1674, whereupon he displayed so good zeal that he took passage with twenty-six religious in June 1675. He reached Mexico with his gospel militia, where he was ordered by the province to return to

España to conduct certain matters that could only be entrusted to his person. Thereupon, sending his accounts to Philipinas, the mission went to the islands in the year 1676 in charge of another prelate, and father Fray Juan bent his steps toward his new destiny.

911. Another father, Fray Juan de la Madre de Dios, a native of Cuenca, had gone to Philipinas in the mission of father Fray Christoval de Santa Monica; in the year 1680, that definitory appointed him commissioner to España. He sailed the same year from the port of Cavite in the galleon named "San Telmo." [After a voyage tempered with the mercy obtained by St. Nicholas of Tolentino, in several dangerous situations, the father arrived at Acapulco, January 22, 1681, and was detained some time in Nueva España by the fever. Reaching Spain in November of the same year, he hastened to lay his supplications at the royal feet, and was given a decree calling for a mission of forty religious fathers and five lay brothers. "He also obtained a royal decree dated April 16 of the abovesaid year [1682] in which his Majesty continued the annual alms of one hundred and fifty pesos for the medicines which are used in our infirmary of Manila; and another of the thirtieth of the same month, in which he also continued the alms of two hundred and fifty pesos and a like number of fanegas of rice per year for the maintenance of the four religious of Ours who were in charge of the Indians in Manila."]

914. In view of this, the edict for the mission was published by our father vicar-general. An excellent mission was collected at Sevilla for the purpose of taking passage in the fleet which was about to sail to

Nueva España in charge of General Don Diego de Saldivar. Thereupon the mission sailed from Cadiz on the fourth of March, 1683, and consisted of the following religious.

1. The father commissary, Fray Juan de la Madre de Dios, native of Cuenca.

2. The father vice-commissary, Fray Fernando Antonio de la Concepcion, native of Aldea del Cardo, of the bishopric of Calahorra.

3. The pensioned father reader, Fray Juan de la Concepcion, known as Moriàna, an Andalusian.

4. Father Fray Agustin de San Juan Bautista, a native of Leganès near Madrid.

5. Father Fray Juan de la Encarnacion, of Talavera.

6. Father Fray Francisco del Espiritu Santo, of Xarayz in La Vera de Plasencia.

7. Father Fray Antonio de San Agustin, of Madrid.

8. Father Fray Juan de San Antonio, of Alcalà de Enares.

9. Father Fray Juan de San Nicolàs, of Daymiel in La Mancha.

10. Father Fray Alonso de San Agustin, of Villa de Garcias in Estremadura.

11. Father Fray Joseph de la Encarnacion, of La Nava del Rey.

12. Father Fray Francisco de la Ascension, of Madrid.

13. Father Fray Francisco de la Madre de Dios, of Malaga.

14. Father Fray Pablo de San Joseph, of Tobòso.

15. Father Fray Joseph de San Geronimo, of Calcena in Andalusia.

16. Father Fray Juan del Santissimo Sacramento, of Logroño.
17. Father Fray Vicente de San Geronimo, of Lupiñèn, near Huesca.
18. Father Fray Sebastian de San Marcos, of Tobòso.
19. Father Fray Gaspàr de San Guillermo, of Villanueva Messia.

Brother Choristers

20. Brother Fray Alonso de la Concepcion.
21. Brother Fray Diego de San Nicolàs, of Madrid.
22. Brother Fray Antonio de la Encarnacion, of Xetàfe.
23. Brother Fray Joseph de la Madre de Dios, of Tobòso.
24. Brother Fray Juan de San Agustin, of Oràn, Africa.
25. Brother Fray Francisco Antonio de la Madre de Dios, of Alcantara.
26. Brother Fray Francisco de Santa Maria, of Madrid.
27. Brother Fray Ignacio de San Joseph, of Buxaralòz, Aragon.
28. Brother Fray Joachin de San Nicolàs, of Añon, Aragon.
29. Brother Fray Joseph de Santa Getrudis, of Villafranca de Panadès, Cathaluña.
30. Brother Fray Joseph de la Trinidad, of Urrea de Xalon, Aragon.
31. Brother Fray Joseph de Santa Lucia, of Caspe, Aragon.
32. Brother Fray Francisco de San Joseph.

33. Brother Fray Pedro de San Miguèl, of Porcuna, kingdom of Jaen.

34. Brother Fray Raphaël de San Bernardo, of Berja, kingdom of Granada.

35. Brother Fray Manuel de la Concepcion, of Sevilla.

36. Brother Fray Juan de la Ascencion, of Moral, in the archbishopric of Toledo.

37. Brother Fray Alonso de San Joseph.

38. Brother Fray Juan de Santa Monica.

Lay Brothers

39. Brother Fray Pedro de la Virgen del Pilar, of Barcelona.

40. Brother Fray Agustin de Santa Monica, of Ecinacorva, Aragon.

41. Brother Fray Roque de San Lorenzo.

42. Brother Fray Joseph de Jesus.

43. Brother Fray Juan de Jesus, of Alcazar de San Juan, La Mancha.

915. All the above, minus the one named at number 22 who died at sea, and those included under numbers 9, 12, and 14, who hid in Puerto Rico, in order that they might return to their provinces, as they did do, arrived with the great good-will of the fleet, at Vera Cruz, June 1, 1683, whence they went to Mexico with all possible haste. There they comported themselves with the greatest rigor, observance, abstraction, and example, so that the hospitium appeared a desert. Thus they succeeded in obtaining the favor of the viceroy, the count of Parèdes,⁵⁶

⁵⁶ Tomás Antonio Manrique de la Cerda, conde de Paredes, marqués de la Laguna, and knight of the Order of Alcántara, took office as viceroy of Mexico, November 30, 1680. The chief events of his term were the piratical raids, chiefly by French

and the venerable archbishop Don Francisco de Aguiar y Seyjas, who visited the fathers in the hospitium, and that not only once. During that winter those who had not completed their studies, continued them, and in that the father lector, Fray Juan de la Concepcion and others who were not lectors, but were worthy to be, worked with especial zeal. By the fifth of March, 1685, they began to go out in bands to Acapulco, whence they set sail April 4, in the almiranta, called "San Telmo." They anchored in the port of Sorsogòn, in Philipinas, on the fourteenth of July, and arrived in Manila some time in August. There they were given a fine welcome and were allowed some time to rest after so long a voyage. But they afterward began another greater work in that vineyard with the fulfilment which was hoped of not resting until they obtained their reward in glory.

[Chapter iv, treating of the general chapter of 1684, notes (p. 457) that the first definitor chosen for Philipinas was father Fray Francisco de San Nicolàs, and the second definitor, Fray Miguèl de Santa Monica; as first and second discreets (p. 458), were chosen father Fray Blàs de la Concepcion and father Fray Nicolàs de Tolentino.]

[Most of chapter v is taken up with the life of father Fray Juan de la Madre de Dios, called also Blancas. He was born in the town of Blancas, Aragon, of honorable parentage, his family name being Garcias. From his early years of a religious turn of mind, he at length attained the height of his desires by professing (June 15, 1635) in the convent of Borsairs. His residencia was taken in 1686, and about two years later he returned to Spain. See Bancroft's *Mexico*, iii, pp. 190-207.]

ja. In 1650, after having preached very acceptably at the convent of Zaragoza, he enlisted in the Philippine mission organized by father Fray Jacinto de San Fulgencio. On his arrival at Manila he preached at the convent in that city and engaged in other work (being also the confessor of the governor Sabiniano Manrique de Lara) until December, 1655. At that time his health giving out because of an accident, he went with the then father provincial, father Fray Francisco de San Joseph, to the convent at Bolinao in the Zambal district, leaving behind with the governor a folio MS. book which he had written during the preceding two years entitled *Governador Christiano, entre Neophitos* (Christian governor among neophytes), for spiritual guidance in all sorts of matters. In Bolinao, the change of climate and work restored the father's health in a short time, but he remained in that place until the new provincial chapter in Manila. At that chapter he was chosen prior of the Manila convent against his wishes. Again in 1658 ill health compelled him to go to Bolinao, where he remained this time four years. His efforts to keep the natives there quiet during the times of the insurrections were of great fruit. He labored zealously in that district even visiting the schools in addition to the regular duties of a missionary. He received a number of devout women into the tertiary branch of the order. He was untiring in his efforts for both the spiritual and corporal good of his charges.]

§ v

Father Fray Juan de la Madre de Dios founds a village of Indians, converted by dint of his zeal. He

is elected defnitor and retires from the commerce of men to adorn himself with the perfection of his virtues.

. . . 984. In a site called Cacaguàyanan which means "the place of many bamboos," six leguas or so from Bolinào there were for years back a not small number of Indians, who had fled from the surrounding villages, and who are there called Zimarrònes. They having abandoned in its entirety the faith which they had received at baptism, and accompanied by many heathen, not only rendered vain the attempts of mildness and of force which had several times been practiced to reduce them to a Christian and civilized life, but either by declared war, or by means of skilful cunning, did not cease to cause constant depredations in the Catholic villages which were subject to Spanish dominion. So true is the statement contained in various parts of this history, that our ministers of Philipinas, although they dwell in mission fields already formed, go forth to living war against infidelity, and although the Christianity of Zambàles was the first one converted by our discalced order, even there our religious have no lack of meritorious occupation. From the first time that our venerable father was in Bolinào, he worked with his accustomed zeal in order to place those people in the pathway of their eternal salvation. He had obtained from them that the Christians should be obedient to the law, and that the heathen should leave the opaque shades of paganism, so that it was conceded to him to found a new settlement in the island of Pòro with them, with a general pardon and the accustomed privileges. Moved by so good hopes the father went to chapter, and

since he had so much influence with the governor of the islands to whom the giving of such licenses pertains, he procured one for the founding of the village which he was attempting, with all the privileges that those Zimarrònes and idolaters could desire. But since the religious to whom it was charged, did not succeed in finding the means prescribed by prudence to unite spirits dissimilar in other regards, not only was the project not obtained, but their good-wills having been irritated, the desired attainment came to appear impossible.

985. So passed affairs, when renouncing the priorate of Manìla, as we have said above, that gleaming sun returned to illumine the hemisphere of Bolinào, and not being able to prevent the activity of his light, he immediately shed his reflected light even to the darkest caves where those Indians were taking refuge in the manner of wild beasts, fleeing from their own good and blindly enamored of the most unhappy freedom. Again did the father establish the compacts for their conversion. In the first step that he took in the undertaking, he made the greatest sacrifice of himself, by exposing his life to a danger which might make the most courageous man tremble, if he were less holy. For when he heard that the fugitive Christians and a great number of heathens and some Chinese idolaters were celebrating a solemn feast to the demons, in the above-mentioned place of Cacaguayànan, he determined to go thither in person with the intrepidity suitable to his valor, and almost alone to oppose so sacrilegious worship and at the same time reduce those who paid that worship. In these ceremonies called *Maganitos* in the language of the country,

intoxication is the most essential part of the solemnity. And since the Zambal Indians are extremely warlike, esteeming it the principal part of their nobility, unless they are illumined with the Catholic faith, to lessen with inhuman murders the species of which they consider themselves as individuals, adding to this that they consider it as an attention paid to their religion, to take away the life of any Christian who approaches their district, where they pay such adorations to their deities, then one can conjecture the great risk that beset that soldier of Jesus, when he attacked such an army of infernal furies, in order to withdraw them from a darkness so dense into the refulgent light of the Catholic religion.

986. But its good outcome deprived the action of the censure of temerity, which showed that it was governed by a special motion of the Holy Spirit, whose impulse at times trespassing the lines of what the world calls prudence, causes one to undertake projects which our finite reason qualifies as rashness. The fact is that when the venerable father arrived at the dense part of a solitary thicket in whose melancholy shades those Indians had gathered to worship as a god one who is not a god, he met them with the qualities of meek sheep, when he might have feared to find them like ferocious wolves, who would consider it a sport of their cruelty to rend him to pieces. Beyond any doubt the hand of God, who wished to preserve the life of one who despised it for His sake, was in this; for since the infernal fury with which the heathen clothe themselves on such occasions is assured, one cannot attribute their gentleness on this occasion to natural causes. That most zealous minister put his hand, then, to the double-

edged sword of the preaching, and fighting with it according to his wont so skilfully, made himself master almost without any resistance of those hearts which were filled with apostasy and infidelity, setting up in them the banner of our holy Catholic faith. The complete attainment of so famous a victory was retarded somewhat, because of the outbreak of the insurrection of Pangasinàn. In him was verified what experience has always demonstrated, namely, that a very quiet disposition is needed so that the divine word may be born in souls by the faith. But at last when all the heads of that monstrous hydra were cut off, the blessed father had the happiness to obtain the fruit of his zeal by constructing a new village in the site called Mangàsin. That was the most suitable place in the island of Pòro, and was called by another name Cabarròyan. From the beginning he counted eighty houses in it and a like number of families, all drawn from the captivity of the devil to the perfect liberty of the kingdom of Christ.

[The father preached many sermons to the Zambals in their own language, which he had begun to learn when he first went to Bolinào, so many in fact that they formed two MS. volumes in quarto; and of them copies were made for the use of those not so well versed as himself in the Zambal tongue. In April 1662 he was chosen definitor at the provincial chapter, and lived for the three years of that office in the Manila convent. At the following chapter in 1665, father Fray Juan was elected provincial against his will. His term was one that needed his strong rule, for there were troubles with the governor, Diego Salcedo, who offered obstacles to the smooth ordering of affairs. He materially advanced

his order and brought some new stability into the body which had suffered in the recent earthquakes, and the Chinese and native insurrections. At the completion of his triennium he was chosen president of the Recollect hospitium in Mexico. Setting sail for his destination, July 4, 1668, the port of Acapulco was reached only on the twenty-second of the following January, after a voyage replete with storm and sickness. Proceeding to his destination the father entered the hospitium of Mexico on the twelfth of February of the same year. In 1671, as related above, Father Juan de la Madre de Dios was ordered to cast the vote of his province in the general chapter held in Spain in 1672, and also to attend to various matters for his order. There his stay being somewhat prolonged because of lack of funds and other things he was made visitor general of certain Spanish convents, and was later elected to high officers of the order in Aragon. Returning to Nueva España with a band of missionaries he was again sent to Spain on business of the order, but a broken arm received while on his way from Sevilla to Madrid, caused his retirement to the Zaragoza convent, where he died January 10, 1685, at the age of 68. Throughout his life, he was most humble and led an austere existence.]

[Section ii of the following chapter treats of the life of father Fray Thomàs de San Geronimo. This father was born at the village of Yebenes, in the archbishopric of Toledo, his family name being Ayàla. He took the habit in the Madrid convent, July 28, 1646. Upon going to the Philippines he was sent to the missions of the Visayas. Devoting himself there to the study of the languages he learned several of the Visayan tongues, especially the Ce-

buan, "the principal Visayan tongue." In that language he translated the catechism, which was printed at Manila in 1730; compiled an explanation of the Christian Doctrine, which was printed in 1730; and composed a vocabulary in the Cebuan tongue, and another in the dialects spoken in Cagayàn and Tagalòan. In addition he left two volumes of sermons in the vernacular of the country. He served as prior for six years in the convent of Billig, Mindanao; six years in Cagayàn, and various times at the island of Romblon, and finally in Siargao. In 1680 he was elected provincial, and served his term so faithfully and well, visiting and working assiduously, that he was reëlected in 1686 against his will. But he was destined not to fill that office again for death took him May 19, 1686. After his first term he served in the island of Romblòn. He was a most zealous missionary. The remainder of the chapter and chapter vii following do not deal with Philippine affairs.]

CHAPTER VIII

Our missionaries illumine the islands of Masbàte with the preaching. The fourteenth general chapter is held. Two excellent religious die in the province of Aragon.

The year 1688

§ I

Our province of Philipinas takes charge of the spiritual administration of three islands, namely, Masbàte, Ticào, and Burias, with no little luster to the Catholic religion.

. . . 1108. In the great archipelago of San Lazaro, as one enters the Philipinas from Marianas,

the islands of Luzòn, Mindòro, Panài, Zebù, and Lèyte form among themselves an almost perfect circle which has a circumference along the beaches from the center of about two hundred leguas encircling the above-named islands, which are very near one another. Within this circumference, toward the part of Mindòro and Panay, are located the islands of Romblòn, and toward the part of Lèyte those of Masbàte, Ticào and Burìas, which belong to the bishopric of Nueva Càceres in ecclesiastical matters, and to the alcaldeship of Albay in political matters. Masbàte, which is the chief island, is sixty leguas southwest of Manila. It lies in a latitude of about sixty degrees, has a circumference of fifty leguas, a length of nineteen, and a breadth of five or six.⁵⁷ The island of Ticào is about nine leguas long, four and one-half wide, and about twenty-three leguas in circumference.⁵⁸ That of Burìas has a circumference of twenty-six leguas, four wide and twelve long.⁵⁹ Masbàte has the reputation of having the richest gold mines that were found by the first Spaniards, and from which they benefited to a great extent. Their working has not been continued, either for lack of people suitable

⁵⁷ The island of Masbate has an area of 1,236 square miles. It is mountainous, the mean elevation ranging from 2,000 to 2,500 feet. Its present total population is 29,451, all civilized, and the great majority Visayan. See *Census of the Philippines*, i, p. 66, ii, pp. 30, 392, 407.

⁵⁸ Ticao belongs to the present province of Masbate. It is very small, containing an area of only 121 square miles. In shape it is long and narrow, and not of great elevation. Its present population is 10,183. The chief known occupation is agriculture. See *ut supra*, i, p. 66, ii, p. 30.

⁵⁹ The same general description as that of Ticao fits Burìas. Like that island, it also belongs to the province of Masbate. Its area is 197 square miles, and its population 1,627. See *ut supra*, i, p. 66, ii, p. 30.

for this work or for other reasons which do not concern us. That of Buriàs abounds in the palm called Buri, of whose fruit and even of whose trunk, the Indians make an extraordinary bread. That of Ticào produces many woods, excellent for the construction of medium-sized boats. The natives of those three islands are of the same qualities as the rest of the Philipinas. However, they have become very sociable because of the almost continuous intercourse that they have with the Spaniards, on account of the many who pass on their way to other countries.

1109. Those islands were reduced to the crown of España in 1569 by Don Luis Henriquez de Guzman, a knight of Sevilla, whose conquest made them thoroughly subject in everything to Captain Andrès de Ibarra. Thereupon, scarcely had the way been opened by arms, when the venerable father, Fray Alonso Ximenez, an Observant of our order, entered Masbàte to preach the law of grace. He, as is asserted by father Fray Gaspàr de San Agustin, may be called the apostle of that island, in consideration of the great amount of his labors therein for the extension of the Catholic faith. Other apostolic workers of the same institute followed his tracks later, and they went to Ticào and Buriàs. Consequently, in the year 1605, the province of Santo Nombre de Jesus founded a mission composed of the above three islands. The first prior appointed was father Fray Francisco Guerrero, instructor of Christian doctrine, who was of well-known zeal. But our calced fathers kept the care of their administration only until the year 1609, when the intermediary chapter resigned that district and its

villages into the hands of the bishop of Nueva Càceres, Don Pedro de Arce, in order that he might appoint secular clergy as he wished, who could attend to the Christian Indians with the bread of the doctrine.⁶⁰ From that time until the year 1688, various curas had successive charge of the administration of those souls in order to teach them the road of glory. But notwithstanding that that district had only two hundred and fifty families when they took charge of it (as the above-cited Father Gaspar confesses) whose number continued to decline afterward because of the Moro invasions, one cura could in no way be maintained, and scarce could one be found to take charge of that church.

1110. Things were in this condition, then, when the most illustrious master, Don Fray Andrès Gonzales, who deservedly ascended to the bishopric of Nueva Càceres from the ranks of the Order of Preachers, represented to the king on May 28, 1682 that in order that the villages of his diocese might be rightly administered spiritually, it would be indispensable to assign its curacies in another manner and give some of them into the charge of religious. In consideration of that he petitioned his Majesty to commit the approbation of the new plan considered to his governor of those islands, so that as vicepatron, he might proceed in it. The king conceded what that prelate asked by his decree dated Madrid, August 13, 1685, and his Excellency presented the new formation of districts to the governor with all its changes. By it he applied to our province all the mission of Masbàte, and its adjacent islands, as well

⁶⁰Sidenotes at this point refer to San Agustin's *Conquistas*, book ii, chapter i, p. 215; book iii, chapter xxv, pp. 515, 516, 529.

as the villages of Ingòzo, Catanavan, Vigo, and the rancherias contiguous, all located in the island of Luzòn, which hitherto had belonged to the curacy of Piriz, so that another new mission might be formed under charge of our discalced order. The governor was the admiral of galleons, Don Gabriel de Cruceleygui, knight of the habit of Santiago. By an act of November 26, 1686, he approved *in toto* the idea of the bishop, and, as a consequence, the assignation made to us of the above-mentioned villages, so that we might administer them as curas. However, because of several troubles that resulted, our province accepted only the mission of Masbàte, and renounced the right that they might have had to the other villages of the island of Luzòn, for they could be administered by the fathers of St. Francis with less trouble.

IIII. The constant reasons for the acts by which the bishop assigned to us the above-mentioned district were reduced to the fact that there was but one secular priest in it, and he was insufficient for its administration. For it was proved that only four persons had died with the sacraments within the long space of four years, while those who had passed to the other life without that benediction numbered one hundred and eighteen. Add to this that the baptism of small children had been delayed many months as the parish priest did not go but very seldom to visit the distant villages. This ought not to induce inferences against the well-proved zeal of those venerable priests, that they had neglected their duties in attending to the obligations of the ministry. For since there was but one ecclesiastic in all three islands, and those islands occupy so great

an extent, and the villages are so distant from one another, how could he attend to so many parishioners with the pastoral food? It is a fact that even after our religious had entered there and three or four were kept busy continually, scarce could they fully attend to all their duties as spiritual directors, without some inculpable lack being evident; and that notwithstanding that each one labored as many, for not few of them have lost their health because of the work, as we shall see hereafter. Consequently, one ought not to be surprised if those Indians were poorly administered before, for it is undeniable that one person cannot attend to so many laborious cares, as can many, although he may equal them in zeal.

1112. The bishop and governor convinced, then, in this matter, despatched the fitting provisions in November 1686 in order that our reformed branch might take charge of those souls. This plan was of great moment to the province, for the said islands, besides being the necessary passage way and very suitable station for those who voyage from Manila to Carhaga and Zebù, are the stopping place of the ships which sail from Cavite to Acapulco and return from Nueva España to Philipinas. It is very common for the ships to stop in their ports to get fresh supplies, and await suitable winds. On that account there originated the greatest convenience in possessing them in our custody, because of what makes for the spiritual: for the provincials, when they sail out upon their visits; for the commissioners when they come to España for missions; for the missions themselves when they arrive at the islands; and for the multitude of our religious who journey from one part to another, employed in the holy commerce of

souls. Without doubt those reasons somewhat aided the zeal with which our tireless workers in those countries have always procured the good teaching of the faithful, and the conversion of the faithless, at the cost of their own very great fatigue and of great penalties. On that account it was determined in the intermediary chapter of 1687 to accept the charge of that reasonable territory to whose labor God called them by the mouth of the bishop. And more when it was learned that, although the number of the Christians was greatly diminished, the interiors of the islands of Masbàte and Burias were densely inhabited with innumerable Indians, apostates from the faith and assembled there not only from their villages, but also from other parts, in whose reduction a great service would be done to God and the king, and with this fruit the sweatings of the spiritual administration would be eased, which by themselves alone gave much to grieve over.

1113. Finally matters having been arranged, fathers Fray Juan de San Phelipe, the outgoing provincial, and Fray Juan de la Encarnacion, with another associate, of whose name we are ignorant, left Manila in May 1678 [*i.e.*, 1688] to take charge of the above-mentioned district. They went to the village of Ticào, where they met the cura, then Bachelor Don Christoval Carvallo, who had been notified by the suitable acts in the month of August. The latter agreed without the least repugnance to surrender the churches and his administration. He did it gracefully on September 2 of the same year in the village of Mobo, a site in the island of Masbàte, which was, and is, the chief village of all the others, and that mission remained from that time on

subject to our discalced order. The Indians received the religious with signs of the greatest rejoicing. It is a fact that they knew our holy habit some years before, because some of our gospel missionaries had stopped in their port on account of storms, when they were passing by Masbàte on their way to their destinations, and had attended to instructing them and even administering them the sacraments. From that came the almost general joy with which the discalced Augustinians were received there; and from that reception originated the great fruit which they obtained with their preaching. The fathers endeavored to have the love shown them by the Indians increase, not being unaware that the good-will of the hearers is a very plausible disposition so that the work of the preachers may be useful. Knowing also that the good opinion of the evangelical minister gives great force to his words, in order that theirs might be increased they aimed to confirm them with works. They bore themselves as saints in private and public in order to give a good example in all things. With that method, one can believe the great number of Christians that were gathered to Catholicism in the said islands, as we shall relate later.

1114. But since it was necessary for this attainment to found some convent, they erected it that same year in the village of Mobo, which had the most inhabitants. It has Nuestra Señora de los Remedios [*i.e.*, our Lady of Remedies] as titular, and a very costly church is being built which abounds in reredoses and other adornments with a sacristy provided with vestments [*? jocalias*] and ornaments. The house is very capacious and has

all the necessary rooms and has moreover cells for the religious who generally live in it. That convent was the refuge of the gospel ministers who lived in it in suitable number to look after the Christians in spiritual matters and to allure the apostates to the bosom of the Christian religion which they had abandoned. Thence, as swift moving clouds, they went out to fertilize the other villages with the water of their doctrine and having become hunters of souls, to overrun the deserts and mountains. Although there were not more than six villages in the three islands when our discalced religious entered to administer them, in a few years they established three more where they could shelter those who were being reduced to our holy faith. And hence the workers of that mission with inexplicable toil cared for a great number of souls who dwelt in the capital of Mobo, and in its annexed villages or visitas of Ticào, Burias, Balino, Palànog, Habuyoàn, Tagmasùso, Buracàn, and Limbojan. In that extensive territory not few times did God explain His mercies with repeated miracles in confirmation of the faith which Ours were preaching. Some received with baptism the health of the body, and others found themselves freed from their pains by the prayers of the ministers, accompanied by the laying on of hands. However, inasmuch as the manuscripts give us these notices without specification, we cannot name the individual miracles.

1115. A very lamentable event for the islands which happened in the year 1726, was the reason for the founding of another convent in Ticào. It happened as follows. The galleon "Santo Christo de Burgos," while making its voyage to Nueva España,

anchored at the port of Ticão in order to await good weather before taking to the open sea. But it was shipwrecked there by a storm which came upon it. On board that vessel was Don Julian de Velasco, a minister assigned to the Audiencia of Mexico. He managed to obtain his spiritual improvement from that disaster so transcendental to all classes of Philipinas by the practice of good works. He did not care to return to Manila, although he could have done so, but remained with all his family in the said port until he could get passage the next year. Among what he was able to save of his lost possessions, he placed his first attention in seeing that the holy image of the holy Christ of Burgos which was on the ship as its titular, should not be lost; for it was his intention to place it at his own expense in some church, so that it might have public veneration for the benefit of souls. Scarcely, then, did he have that celestial treasure in his hands, when he exposed it to worship on the high altar of the church of Ticão with ornaments suitable to his devout affection. Thereafter followed the assignment of some income so that there might be a resident evangelical minister there, both so that a chaplain might not at least be wanting to the holy image, and so that the Indians might not lack more continual teaching. For that reason, the province afterward determined to found a convent in Ticão. To it were assigned the villages situated in the islands of Ticão and Burias, and to the convent of Mobo those of the island of Masbate. The ministers were thus able to obtain more relief because their number had increased, although they still had much to do in order to attend to everything.

§ II

Relation of the progress made by Catholicism in those islands by the preaching of our laborers; and the great hardships that they suffered for that end.

1116. In the year 1724, the province of Philipinas begged the king to confirm, by special decree, the possession that had been given them in his royal name of the islands of Masbàte. His Majesty ordered the governor of Philipinas and the bishop of Nueva Cáceres, on the eleventh of February, 1725, to make no innovation in regard to the spiritual administration of the said district until he should provide what was needful in his royal Council. He ordered them also to inform him of the progress that had been made by the faith in that territory since it had been in our charge. On that account some juridical investigations were made in Manila in order to inform the king with acts. By them it appeared that, although there had been only one single parish priest in all the district of Masbàte before, since it had been placed in charge of the Recollect fathers, three religious at least had always lived there; and that, as was proved by the books of the royal treasury, in the year 1687, anterior to our possession, there were only one hundred and eighty-seven families in the whole mission, while in the year 1722, there were five hundred and eighty-five: so that in the space of thirty-four years they had increased by three hundred and ninety-eight. For that reason the governor, Marquès de Torrecampo, gave his king June 30, 1727, a very favorable report of our discalced order in the terms of this honorable clause. "The district

of Masbàte, in charge of the discalced Augustinians, has had an increase of 398 whole tributes through the apostolic zeal of those ministers. They, not only in that district, but also in the rest of these islands, dedicate themselves to the propagation of our holy Catholic faith with the greatest toil and with the most visible fruit."

1117. These increases will be of greater moment if we consider that, if the families be reduced to the number of four persons each, as is customary there, the said district consisted, at the time it was given to us, of 748 souls, and in thirty-eight years it had increased to 2,340, the increase amounting to 1,592 persons. But sixteen years later (namely, the year 1738, when father Fray Juan Francisco de San Antonio printed the first volume of the history of his seraphic province of Philipinas), those increases were almost doubled.⁶¹ Then directing his pen to the end that leads to truth, he assures us that there are new villages in the island of Masbàte with three thousand three hundred and forty-five souls; in that of Ticào, two, with four hundred and seventy-five persons; and one in that of Burias, with one hundred and eighty. Whence it is inferred that three more villages were newly established: namely, in Masbàte, those of Navangui and Baraga; and in Ticào, that of San Jacinto, at the port so named, where the ships now stop for fresh supplies, before taking to the open sea. Also the number of souls has increased to one thousand six hundred and sixty by the impulses of the preaching of our reformed branch, aided efficaciously by divine grace. All the increase of this district since it has been in our charge has

⁶¹ A sidenote refers to San Antonio, i, folio 219.

been six newly-created villages, and three thousand two hundred and fifty-two souls brought to the Catholic bosom. And we even ought to infer that many more have been converted, for by the invasions of the Moros, which are told at length in the third volume,⁶² the number of the Christians could not but be lessened.

1118. It only remains now to ascertain whence proceeded those Indians who so increased the above-mentioned villages. It was stated in another place in the third volume⁶³ that there was a great number of mountain Indians in the islands of Masbàte and Burias, who are there called Zimarrones. They were feared, for they lived without God, or king, and were given up to the liberties of paganism. Those were certain men, if they can be called so, who having apostatized the faith, had taken to the deserts and high places, where they defended their native barbarity at every step, against those who were trying to reduce them and to procure their own good. They had gathered there, either they or their ancestors, from the villages of the same islands, as well as from Zebù, Leyte, and others, to escape the punishment due them for their crimes. Consequently, they were people especially fierce. Among them were found to be many heathens, as they had been born in those places where the sound of the preaching did not penetrate. The others were still worse, as they had abandoned Christianity. They did notable damage to the villages, and they even robbed the boats that were anchored in the ports or bays, treacherously taking many lives. The matter

⁶² A sidenote reference is to Santa Theresa, no. 740 ff.

⁶³ A sidenote refers to *ut supra*, no. 739.

had assumed such proportions that one could not cross those islands by their interiors; and to approach their shores was the same thing as putting in at an enemy's port. But at present all the Zimarrones are reduced to the faith, and to the obedience of the king without any exception. Hence one can travel through the islands without the slightest risk, and boats can go thither even to the uninhabited places. From that and from no other beginnings have come the increase of that church, and there is not small praise to our reformed branch from it.

1119. That progress of the faith was preceded by many hardships that were suffered by the religious, some of which I shall state, noting that innumerable others are omitted, in order not to bore our readers by their relation, and because they resemble those that we shall relate. It has already been stated, then, that for the space of more than thirty years there was but one convent in the three islands, which was established in the village of Mobo, whence the gospel laborers went out to administer all the settlements of the district. For that purpose, it was absolutely necessary for them to sail many leguas by boisterous seas, or to travel by land in some parts by rough mountains, threatened in the one place with shipwreck and in the other by continual dangers. Since the new convent was established in the island of Ticào, the administration is more tolerable, although it is always accompanied by indescribable fatigues. For the religious of Mobo have to sail completely about the island of Masbàte in order to fulfil their obligations, or if they prefer to journey by land, as they are able, to one or two villages, they have to do it afoot with the

greatest discomfort, through inaccessible mountains, and exposed to dangers wellnigh insupportable. The missionaries of Ticão, besides having to coast a great part of that island have to go many times during each year to that of Burias, crossing the very stout currents of the sea from the rapidity of which some of the missionaries have found themselves in the utmost consternation. On the other hand, all the time that the Indians remained Zimarrones, they allowed no passage to the zealous laborers without them risking their lives to innumerable dangers; and even after they had been reduced, the Moros were a substitute for them on the outside, and inside many sorcerers, who tried, some by violence, and others by their diabolical arts, to drive thence, and even from the world, the ministers of souls. And who can tell all that they suffered from all these causes? It was so great that some religious, never more alive than when they were dead, came to die in the campaign like good soldiers.

1120. Father Fray Ildephonso de la Concepcion was one of those who sweated most in that ministry, and one of those who entered to cultivate it in its early beginnings. By the ardor of his zeal, by the example of his life, and by his apostolic preaching, he reduced many apostates to the Catholic faith. Some of them were gathered into the villages already established, and others, up to the number of eighty families, founded through his influence, another new village on the opposite coast from Mobo. Going then, from one to another part of the islands, the solicitous fisher of souls had the boat in which he journeyed swamped twice, one-half legua from shore, while another time his boat was driven by

storms on some reefs and dashed to pieces; dangers in which many of those who accompanied him were lost, while the father escaped miraculously with his life after having endured a thousand anxieties. The Zimarrones, infidels, and bad Christians, given up to doing ill to whomever procured their total welfare, now as declared enemies, and again as wily friends, placed him almost continually in monstrous danger of exhaling his last breath. In order that he might visit promptly the new village which he had erected, he opened a road from Mobo to it through the interior of the island. He crossed it many times on foot, it being necessary for him to traverse very lofty mountains exposed to all the inclemencies of the weather. He suffered indescribable things for the faith, with the great hardship that his vast zeal occasioned him, and which those Indians caused him with their obstinacy. Finally he fell grievously ill, his pains originating from the penalties of the said road which he frequented several times in the course of a single month, as well as from the heat and showers which he endured when going through the mountains in search of those rational wild beasts. He died through the apostolic zeal, in the manner in which all gospel laborers ought to depart this life.

1121. Father Fray Benito de la Assumpcion, a religious who seemed born for the labors and successes of the spiritual administration, followed that laborer in the care of that vineyard. He believed that, without passing the limits of prudence, it would be very seasonable for the souls of his parishioners to reduce them to living closer together in a fewer number of villages, and he thus tried to

bring it to pass. Especially did he propose to himself the plan that the Indians shortly before reduced to the new village which we have mentioned in the preceding number, should move to the capital or chief village of Mobo, for he formed the correct judgment that they would be better Christians if they had at all hours the good example of their ministers before their eyes. It is not so difficult to move a whole village in Philipinas as it would be in Europa; for the Indians build their houses without cost and easily. They also find in all parts lands suitable for their cultivation without any expense from their pockets. Yet notwithstanding that one cannot easily tell the vast labors, watches, and afflictions that come upon the religious when they attempt such reductions of the Indians. The latter desire with too great endeavor, to have their residence where they cannot be registered, in order to work with greater freedom, and excuse themselves if possible from all human subjection, and even from divine law, without caring greatly for their own spiritual interests, but each one going at will to his rancheria or field where it is not easy for the father minister to visit them or assist them with the holy sacraments during their sicknesses. For that reason all hell is conjured against the teacher of the doctrine, if he tries to place such reductions into effect, from which many spiritual interests would follow. That venerable father suffered so much with his undertaking that he caused universal wonder that it did not cost him his life, and the worst thing was that he could not see it accomplished.

1122. Not only in this, but also in other projects of known utility, did he have much to endure and

much from which to gather merit. With the zeal of Elias did he relentlessly persecute divine offenses, while he at the same time loved the persons most especially. It was the same for him to discover any trace of superstition or the slightest vestige of the badly extinguished infidelity, and to fly to its destruction with all his power. Amid continual risks of losing his life, he exercised his gigantic charity for many years in directing the souls of those islands to God, without any fear of death whose scythe he saw upon him many times. The Moros with their stealthy attacks, the infidels or apostates with open malice, and the evil Christians with their subterfuges and deceits made him almost continually suffer for justice. But he worked on manfully as one who had the refuge of his life in God, and consoling his weakened heart with the divine grace he supported the persecutions from which the Lord wove him a crown. In the above-named village a chief Indian named Canamàn irritated by the attempted reduction, and because the father checked him publicly for a certain scandalous concubinage, raised his head in open mutiny. With many followers he sought the father and persecuted him in order to deprive him of life. At that revolution the venerable religious was sorely grieved, and it was considered as a special prodigy that he could escape from so sacrilegious hands. Finally, for the same reason another Indian of the village of Ticào (exasperated by the just reprehension and punishment which that famous minister had applied to him as an indispensable medicine for his faults) caused him to be the holocaust of his burning zeal for the good of souls, by the hidden method of poison, through the potency

of which father Fray Benito lost his life, in order to obtain a better one in glory.

1123. After the above fathers, father Fray Diego de San Gabriel entered to take up the toil with the profit of increased fruit in the cultivation of that field. He was the amazement of charity in regard to God because of his care for self-perfection, and in regard to his neighbor, because of the way in which he desired his salvation. In order that he might attain that end he pardoned no toil, if it were fitting for the spiritual welfare of the Indians. He showered favors upon his parishioners by trying to take them to the kingdom of heaven. And although for this the latter loved him more, some were not wanting among so many who persecuted him, returning him evil for good. But like another David when they troubled him with their injuries, the venerable father clad himself in haircloth, humbled his soul in fasting, and occupied himself in prayer. By that means he delighted himself in God, taking pleasure in hardships as if they were the fountain of health. In order to induce his parishioners to the devotion of the most holy Mary he composed and published in the Visayan language a book of the miracles of our Lady of Carmen; and the most sweet Virgin repaid his good zeal by liberating him with circumstances that appeared miraculous from several shipwrecks, and from other innumerable multitudes of dangers. On the beach of the village of Balino a certain Indian gave him a cruel wound with a dagger, because he checked some faults in him. The father recognized as a favor of the Mother of Mercy, not only the fact that he was not quite killed, as might have happened, but also the

cure of the wound, almost without medicine. But at last, as he was sailing as secretary, which post he had obtained later, to visit those villages and others of Visayas, a storm coming down upon him swamped the boat and he was drowned, together with the father provincial, then our father Fray Juan de San Andrès.

1124. And now in order to conclude in a few words, a matter that we can not even with many words consider adequately, we add that the venerable fathers Fray Antonio de Santa Monica and Fray Thomàs de San Lucas said many times without a trace of boasting that, although they had been many times in the doctrinas and missions, in none of them had they found so much to suffer as in that of Masbàte. Father Fray Francisco de Santa Engarcia was twice in imminent danger of death; first in shipwreck and later because an Indian tried to kill him, for the reason that he had tried to get him to give up a certain concubinage. But God having freed him from those dangers, allowed him to perish in another through His occult judgments. It was a fact that that father when attending to the fulfillment of his obligation gave motive that certain of the Zimarron Indians whom he was endeavoring to establish soundly in the Catholic faith gave him certain death-dealing powders in his food, which although they did not deprive him of life rendered him insensible and he became most pitiously insane. Many other religious, whom we shall not mention for various reasons, suffered so much while ministers of those islands, by shipwreck, bad weather, and persecution, that if they did not obtain the crown to which they aspired by death, they were left with

their health totally lost, and lived amid continual aches and pains, until their last breath opened for them, after some years, a pathway to heaven in order that they might enjoy the reward of their well endured conflicts.

[The remaining sections of this chapter and the two final chapters of the book do not touch Philippine matters.]

II

Extracts from JUAN DE LA CONCEPCION'S HISTORIA

[It is thought advisable to append to the above extracts from the *Historia* of Pedro de San Francisco de Assis, the following extracts from Concepción's *Historia*. The first extract is from vol. viii, pp. 3-16, and includes a portion of the first chapter. It treats of the transfer of the province of Zambal to the Dominicans, and the occupation of the island of Mindoro by the Recollects.]

2. Continuing with the events of this government, we must note that Don Diego de Villaroto represented in the supreme Council of the Indias that the island of Mindoro had a vast population who still retained the dense darkness of their heathen blindness; and that if the spiritual conquest of that island were given to some order, it would be easy to illumine its inhabitants with the true light. That representation was met by a royal decree, dated June 18, 1677, ordering the governor of these islands, together with the archbishop, to entrust the reduction of Mindoro to the order that should be most suitable and fitting for that ministry; and that the curas employed in that island should be appointed to chap-

laincies or prebends. That royal decree was presented to the royal Audiencia of Manila by Sargento-mayor Don Sebastian de Villa-Real in October, 78. His Majesty's fiscal offered no objection to its observance, and prompt obedience was rendered to it. It was directed to his Excellency the archbishop, then Don Fray Phelipe Pardo. That most illustrious gentleman, during the two times when he was provincial of his order or province, urged as a thing greatly to be desired and demanded by his brethren the Dominicans, that the Augustinian Recollects yield them the province of Zambales, as it was very fitting for communication with their province of Pangasinan, and of the latter with Manila, and of those religious among themselves, who could thus make their visits more comfortably, by always crossing through their own ministries, thus avoiding the voyage through the territory of others, which they regretted. Notwithstanding that those matters were discussed with great courtesy (as is the case at present) yet that was a demand that offended greatly the discalced Augustinians, who regarded the Zambals as the true sons of their spirit, and the land as watered with the blood and sweat of many of their members, and a land which, being their firstborn, was most tenderly loved. The Dominicans could never obtain their demand, although softened by exchanges, for ministries were offered in which there was even more than enough room for zeal.

3. By reason of the said royal despatch, his Excellency formed the idea of completely removing the Recollects from Zambales and giving them in exchange the island of Mindoro. He set about that

with great zest. The Recollect provincial resisted, alleging that it was contrary to their constitutions to abandon thus the province of Zambales. That would mean treating it as their own possession. It would be better to recognize it as a territory distributed by the universal patron; and, admitting that it was impossible to surrender it without his royal consent, individual laws communicate no right, especially when such mission fields are *ad interim*. He also pleaded that the Indians of Mindoro, both infidels and Christians, had as soon as they heard that regular ministers were to be given them, urgently requested Jesuits. On the contrary, the Zambals, when they were notified that it was the intention to withdraw the Recollects from their midst in order to introduce Dominicans, almost declared their opinion in a terrible tumult. The Recollects preferred, therefore, that such a change should not take place. But the archbishop was firm in his resolution, and trampled all obstacles under foot. He united with the governor, and both of them together forced the Recollect provincial, Fray Joseph de San Nicolas, by threats, to agree to the change. The governor pacified the Indians of Mindoro by means of his corregidor, so that they should receive the Recollect fathers; and the Zambals by means of the alcalde-mayor of Pangasinan, so that they should allow the Dominicans to enter. Thereupon, the three seculars who had been in charge of Mindoro were accommodated by suitable chaplaincies, and an act was passed by the royal Audiencia, charging the Recollect fathers with the administration of that island, with absolute clauses based on the royal decree, without any provision or obligation to leave

the missions of Zambales for it. That decree was accepted when it was announced, and was extended to the judicial cession of those missions, when signed by the provincial of the Recollects, although protest was made against it in the name of their province, by two influential religious. On that account a second act was enacted in which those missions were adjudged to the fathers of St. Dominic, for the archbishop was very much in earnest in those arrangements.

4. Those decrees having been announced and accepted, the Dominicans assumed possession of the cordillera of Zambales. That province had on its coast eleven villages with actual missions, which were increased in the neighboring mountains. The Recollects handed over that administration without making any public disturbance, although all the religious who had labored there protested vehemently, all of which appeared in the judicial reports. The Augustinian Recollects went to Mindoro with the fitting despatches for that corregidor ordering him to deliver the administration [of that island] to them. Father Fray Diego de la Madre de Dios, then definitor, was given charge of the district of Baco, after it had been resigned by Bachelor Don Joseph de Rojas, who held it; father Fray Diego de la Resurreccion of the curacy of Calavite, in place of Licentiate Don Juan Pedraza, its parish priest; while the curacy of Naohan was taken possession of by the father definitor, Fray Eugenio de los Santos, who was exchanged for Bachelor Don Martin Diaz. The whole transfer was completed before the end of the year 79. Three other religious remained with the above three religious as associates

and coadjutors, and those six ministers began to scatter throughout the island. That island is in the center of this vast archipelago, and was formerly called Mainit; but the Spaniards gave it the name of Mindoro from a village called Minolo, located between Puerto de Galeras and the bay of Ylog. It is triangular in shape, its angles being three promontories: that of Calavite, facing west; that of Dumah or Pola, facing north; and that of Burruncan, facing south. In size it is the seventh of the more important islands, and is about one hundred leguas in circumference. Its temperature is naturally hot, but is tempered by the great dampness arising from frequent rains. The height of its mountains aids also in that. On account of such circumstances it is a very fertile land, and, although not very healthful for strangers, good and favorable to its inhabitants. The latter made themselves feared by their neighbors, especially on the sea, where they attacked the most powerful, carrying blood and fire everywhere. Notwithstanding, they were of great simplicity, for when they saw the Europeans wearing clothes and shoes – which they did not use – they imagined that that adornment was natural to them. They are but little given to the cultivation of the soil, and are content with wild fruits; sago, which they get from the palm and which is a good food for them; the flesh of wild animals; and fish, which the rivers and seacoast offer them in great plenty. They have little rice, on account of their sloth in sowing and tending it, for they make up that lack sufficiently in roots and fruits. If they are weak, although corpulent, it is because of their transcendent vice in being hostile to work.

5. Captain Juan de Salcedo made a beginning in the conquest of the district of Mamburão, in the year one thousand five hundred and seventy. That conquest was completed from the point of Burruncan to that of Calavite by the adelantado Miguel de Legaspi, in the beginning of the following year. Gradually the remainder was subdued by the missionaries, by whose treatment the rudeness of the manners of those people was softened. Consequently, the encomienda of that large island was very desirable. The Observant Augustinian fathers were employed in its spiritual cultivation and founded the village of Baco. The discalced fathers of St. Francis also labored there for some time, it being ceded to them by the Observant Augustinians. They worked along the Calavite side to Pola, which they abandoned either because those natives were not at all disposed [to accept the faith], or because those fathers had slight esteem for that island when compared with what was offered them in Ylocos and Camarines. The Jesuits also labored there, but always by the method of temporary missions, from time to time, and had no stability. It only appears that they were more continual in Naohan (which they founded), as long as it was preserved by Father San Victores. When the latter went to the Marianas, the Jesuits resigned that portion into the hands of the archbishop. It is probable that the latter was Señor Poblete.⁶⁴ He immediately formed two curacies for the secular clergy to look after those souls. Although there were but few souls, the extent of their territory was so vast that it was necessary to establish a third

⁶⁴ Miguel Poblete was archbishop of Manila from 1653 to 1668.

parish. Those seculars maintained what was conquered, but that district did not yield a sufficient recompense for the three ministers, and they were paid from the royal treasury and from other pious funds. It was also even difficult to find seculars who cared to take charge of such districts, which were truly little to be desired. But obedience caused that there never was a lack of seculars there, who maintained themselves until the year 76, when the Recollects went there to take their places. As the latter immediately placed six ministers there, they furthered the conquest and reduction greatly in all parts. Hence, while they only received about four thousand Christians, those were multiplied in a few years and the number rose to eight thousand, and in 1716 they reached the number of twelve thousand. There are still a great number of people in the mountains, which are inhabited by wild men. Some of those men are quite light-complexioned, and are believed to have originated from the Chinese and Japanese established there for the convenience afforded by the island, or who have put in there because of shipwreck, or been driven thither by the winds. Others are Cimarron Negritos, who are the first inhabitants, and, as it were, more native. Trustworthy persons say that those people have a hard little tail in the proper place for it, which prevents them from sitting down flat. If it is true (and I do not doubt it, notwithstanding that it is disputed), it is not so strange that I have no examples of it. Those prominences of the sacral bone are considered as rare; but a beginning having been made in one, it could have become natural in its propagation.

6. Thus did those Recollect religious find that

island, and, believing it to be important for the reductions, they continued to establish their regular administrations. The first was in Baco. There, inasmuch as it was the capital, lived the corregidor, but the capital was later moved to Calapan. In that district they formed the villages of Calapan, Baco, Suban, Ylog, Minolo, and Camoròn, with a number of annexed villages or visitas. The second was in Naohan, which was extended into six annexed villages, namely, Pola, Pinamalayan, Balete, Sumagui, Maliguo, and Bongabon. The third was in Calavite, which formed the visitas of Dongon, Santa Cruz, Manburaò, Tubili, and Santo Thomas. The fourth was in Mangarin, which was extended into its dependencies, Guasic, Manaol, Bulalacao, and Ililin. They also began an active mission in order to reduce the heathen Mangyans, which had no other work than to employ itself in those glorious reductions and conversions of grace. For one single man it was an immense work, but the superior government gave no more stipends. That mission was established on the bay of Ylog, and ministers and infidels were pledged not to allow [there] any of the former Christians, who might pervert the conversions. By that arrangement it grew to a very large village, and there were practiced some of the old customs that belonged to the primitive church. All that fine flower-garden has been trampled down and even ruined by the Moros, as will be related in due season.

7. The Dominican fathers also applied themselves to the work in the province of Zambales. That province had already eleven villages formed, although they were small, because that province has but few people. It appeared to the new fathers that

that number of villages made their administration difficult; consequently, they tried to reduce their number by uniting some of them. That incorporation was difficult; hence they increased the troops and arms of the presidio of Paynaven, the center of that province. Through the protection afforded by those troops, they broke up the whole province. The village of Bolinaò, which had a fair population, was located on an island, which is separated from the land by only a channel, which forms its famous and secure port.⁶⁵ It was fertile and pleasant. They moved it to the mainland, to a sandy shore, useless for anything, even for the ordinary fields. Its lack of water they supplied with wells which they opened. There they obtained some water, but it was thick, and in the time of the dry season it entirely disappeared. The Indians who were harmed by this measure were so angry at that moving, that many families retired to Ylocos. In truth, that site is despicable. An eminence which looks upon and almost dominates the port would have been much more suitable, and they would have obtained better air there; while their boats, which cannot navigate by the channel to the village during the blowing of the north wind, so that the cargo has to be carried for a long distance on the shoulders, would have obtained shelter. There are many other inconveniences but one cannot think of a single advantage. They moved the village of Agno⁶⁶ from the coast into the interior, to

⁶⁵ Bolinao is now located on the northeastern end of the Zam-bal Peninsula. Before being moved by the Dominicans, it must have been located on the island of Santiago or Purra, just across the channel from its present location. Its present population (see *Census of Philippines*, ii, p. 244), is 5,397.

⁶⁶ Today located on the coast. Its present population is 6,139. See *Census of Philippines*, ii, p. 244.

a site which is a swampy mudhole when there is the least rain. The village of Sigayan was moved to another site, where the only advantage was a near-by river of fresh water which was unnavigable. They left Masinloc⁶⁷ on its pleasant site, while the village of Paynaven was moved inland to a site called Iba,⁶⁸ from which the new village took its name, moving that village in order to get it away from the commandant of the fort, whose proximity was annoying to them. They did not regard it as a recompensable hardship for the minister of that village to go on feast-days in order to say mass in the presidio, and to repeat it afterwards in his own church. In order to increase that place and give it the name of capital, they brought families from Bolinao, who formed a large barangay. It has already been seen that they made use of the fort in this, and that those who were moved were not very well pleased. The Dominicans also founded, or better, made from other villages, the village of Cabangaan⁶⁹ in an obscure site, which was rough and surrounded by dense mountains, and suitable only for a hermit and solitary life, but so far as others were concerned, a place of profound melancholy. They also formed the village of Subic⁷⁰ from other villages, which had only the advantages of its port to recommend it, while in other

⁶⁷ Masinloc (see *ut supra*) has a present population of 3,230.

⁶⁸ Iba, now the capital of the province of Zambales, is located on a river a very short distance from the coast. Its present population is 4,482. See *Census of Philippines*, ii, p. 244.

⁶⁹ The modern Cabangán is located on the coast road a few miles south of Iba. Its present population (see *ut supra*) is 3,015.

⁷⁰ The village of Subic is located on the northern side of the bay of the same name, and its present population (see *ut supra*) is 2,525. Subic Bay is one of the best natural harbors in the Philippines.

respects it was most unpleasant. They also filled the vacant places left by the many families who retired to the mountains as a result of the violence exercised, with others whom they brought from Pangasinan, a province abounding with people, who because they are so numerous, and there is no room for all, leave their homes more easily. In fact, they did that, too, in order to be surer of the Zambals, in whose severe and warlike minds they did not have the greatest confidence. Thus did they soften those people, or let us say frankly, checked their vehemence. The reduction of the people of the mountain, however much it is talked about, is not known, as neither is the place where they could form villages or a village from them. Let us leave then exaggerations, which, when they offend by comparison, cannot fail to be odious. We shall treat of the restoration [of that province] below, in its proper place.⁷¹

[The following extract is from the same volume, and includes pp. 135-144.]

CHAPTER V

The Augustinian Recollect fathers assume the spiritual government of the islands of Masbáte, Ticao, and Burias. A geographical description of those islands is presented.

1. Under the metaphor of husbandmen, the prophet Amos describes those who are employed in the cultivation of souls. The chroniclers of the Augustinian Recollect fathers describe those fathers for us as zealous and laborious in their never-ceasing application in planting and cultivating the word of

⁷¹ See the Dominican account of their missions among the Zambals, as given by Salazar, in VOL. XLIII.

God in humble hearts. The Recollects assumed charge, in addition to the fields already mentioned, of the island of Masbate with the neighboring islands of Ticao and Burias. Those islands belong to the bishopric of Nueva Caceres in ecclesiastical matters, and to the alcaldeship of Albay in political affairs. Masbate is sixty leguas from Manila, in a latitude lying between twelve and thirteen degrees. It is about fifty leguas in circumference, nineteen leguas long and five or six broad. It was formerly famous for its rich gold mines, which, when they tried later to work them, it was found did not produce expenses. The island also has fine copper mines, samples from which in very recent times were excellent. Information was given of them by Don Francisco Salgado; and when everything necessary and expert Chinese for working them had been prepared, he abandoned them, for he saw that they had much less metal than he had thought. The island of Ticao is about twenty-three leguas in circumference, nine long, and more than four wide. That of Burias extends its circumference to twenty-six leguas, twelve in length, and four in width. These calculations must be understood only approximately, for they had not been exactly determined. All three possess excellent timber, from which pitch is distilled in plenty, and makes excellent pitch for vessels. One of those trees produces the fragrant *camanguian*; ⁷² another very abundantly a kind of almond, larger than that of Europa, for which it is mistaken in taste. They have many civet-cats; civet is a drug which was obtained there long before this

⁷² *i.e.*, Incense, or storax. The word is spelt "*camangyan*" in the Tagalog dictionary of Noceda and Sanlucar.

time, and had a good sale in Acapulco, although that product is not in so great demand now.

2. Don Luis Henrriquez de Guzman, a knight of Sevilla, reduced those islands to the crown of España in the year one thousand five hundred and sixty-nine. Their conquest was finished and they were left thoroughly subdued by Captain Andres de Ybarra. Protected by arms, father Fray Alonso Ximenez, an Observant Augustinian, introduced the evangelical law. In that he did excellent work and obtained much fruit in Masbate. Other religious, imbued with the same spirit and of the same institute, followed, and spread the work into Ticao and Burias. By that means a suitable mission field was established, and the Augustinians conserved the administration thereof until the year six hundred and nine. At that time they resigned that district into the hands of the bishop of Camarines, who employed seculars instead of those regulars. There were various seculars in charge of the administration there, until the year one thousand six hundred and eighty-eight. The district handed over by the Augustinian fathers had two hundred and fifty regular families; but that number was diminished by the terrible invasions of the Moros, so that the corresponding stipend was not sufficient for the maintenance of one cura, and no one could be found who was willing to take care of that district. On that account his Excellency, Master Don Fray Andres Gonzalez of the Order of Preachers, their bishop, represented to his Majesty that it was absolutely necessary to apportion the curacies in another manner for the just spiritual administration of his bishopric, by placing some of them in the charge of regulars; and he

petitioned that his Majesty approve his new plan, by ordering his governor of those islands to proceed in it as vice-patron. The king consented to what the prelate asked, and despatched his royal decree, under date of Madrid, August thirteen, eighty-five. With that order his Excellency presented to the governor the new distribution of districts, with the changes necessary and fitting. In that distribution he applied all the ministry of Masbate to the province of San Nicolas of the Augustinian Recollects, and also on the mainland of Luzon the villages of Ingoso, Catanavan, and Vigò with its neighboring rancherías, of which was formed the curacy of Piris. The governor, Don Gabriel Curuzalaegui, by an act of November twenty-six, of eighty-six, approved the plan conceived by his Excellency the bishop, and informed the said Recollect fathers of the part of the distribution that pertained to them. They accepted the assigned administration. In the territory on the mainland disputes were imminent with the Franciscan fathers in regard to the ownership of those territories. Accordingly the Recollects only accepted the district of Masbate, and resigned the right that they could have had to the villages on the continent of Luzon to the Franciscan fathers, who could administer them with greater ease. By that means all rivalry was checked.

3. The parties [*i.e.*, the Recollects and Franciscans] having come to an agreement, and between themselves the governor and bishop, the two latter despatched suitable measures so that the Recollects could take charge of those souls. In the distribution the Recollects had their proportionate advantages, for those islands are a way-station which is necessary

to pass in going to Caraga and Zebù, where this order had distant missions. The bishop obtained them [for that order] because, that district having been reduced to one single secular, the latter proved insufficient for its administration. Consequently, in the space of twelve years, only four persons had died with the sacraments, although one hundred and eighteen had passed from this life without that important benefit. The baptism of children was postponed for many months, as the cura went to the visitas in the distant villages but seldom. For it was not easy for one single individual to acquit himself of so laborious cares; consequently, this is not to admit that they were ill administered. The government was interested in them, as was also commerce, as Ticao was an anchorage for the Acapulco ships in its famous port of San Jacinto,⁷³ on both the outward and return trips, where fresh supplies were procured, wood and water provided, and winds awaited to take them out of the dangerous currents of the Embocadero of San Bernardino. The Recollect fathers accepted that charge, and were received affectionately by the Indians. They founded their headquarters in Mobo,⁷⁴ a famous village of Masbate. They built a church there, under the advocacy of Our Lady of Remedies. It was a costly edifice, adorned with good reredoses, and had a sacristy well supplied with vestments, besides a capacious house with its suitable quarters and dormitories for

⁷³ The port and village of San Jacinto are located on the east coast of Ticao Island toward the north. The village has a present population of 4,845. See *Census of the Philippines*, ii, p. 232.

⁷⁴ Mobo is an inland village in the northeastern part of Masbate, located on a river a short distance from the capital village called Masbate. Its present population is 2,657. See *Census of the Philippines*, ii, p. 232.

the resident and transient religious. Thence they made their apostolic excursions for the conversion of the heathens, who were still numerous, and the reduction of fugitive apostates. The settlements already established numbered six, and three new villages were established with the increase of those who settled down.

4. This province of San Nicolas petitioned his Majesty in the year one thousand seven hundred and twenty-four to confirm that possession which had been conferred on it in his royal name. His Majesty ordered the governor of Philipinas and the bishop of Nueva Caceres to make no innovation in the spiritual administration of that district until his royal Council should provide what was suitable. He also ordered them to report on the progress of the faith in that territory since it had been under their charge. Judicial investigations were made in Manila by the government, in order to inform the king with reports. From them it appeared that, although the entire district of Masbate had formerly had only one parish priest, since the Recollect fathers had taken charge of it, three religious at least had lived there. It was proved also by the books of the royal accountancy, that in the year preceding their possession, that is, in the year eighty-seven, the entire ministry contained only one hundred and eighty-seven families; while in the year seven hundred and twenty-two there were five hundred and eighty-five families. Consequently, the present governor, the Marquis de Torre Campo, reported that the district of Masbate had had an increase of three hundred and ninety-eight whole tributes through the apostolic zeal of those ministers. The Recollects not only in

those districts, but also in the remainder of these islands, devote themselves to the spread of our holy Catholic faith with the greatest toil and with the most visible fruit.

5. That progress was not made without great toil and hardship. They had to do with a great number of mountain Indians and Zimarrones, who became fearsome when abandoned to liberty. Apostates from the faith and from civilized life, they had taken to the deserts and to the roughest mountains, where they defended their barbarous mode of life at all hazards, by resisting with arms those who tried to reduce them. Various people had also gathered there from other islands, fleeing from the settled villages and from the punishment due their atrocities. Consequently, the latter were extraordinarily fierce. Many heathen were numbered among them, accustomed long since to that rudeness of life and savagery, and they were all the worst kind of people. They committed notable depredations on the civilized villages, robbed the boats that anchored in the ports and bays, and treacherously committed many murders. Their boldness rose to such a pitch that one could not cross through the interior of those islands, and to arrive at their shores was the same as to make port in a land of enemies. It was also a laborious and dangerous task to navigate along the coasts, trying to find those rancherías. Consequently, Father Fray Ildefonso de la Concepcion was twice overturned in the sea, and another time had his boat dashed to pieces on some reefs. In that shipwreck he miraculously escaped with his life, although some of his companions perished in the water. Those dangers came to him in his visits to a

new village established on the opposite coast. In order to avoid such dangers and visit that village more frequently, the father opened a road through the interior from Mobo over rough mountains, where many other risks were run because of the heathens. In that continual crossing the father fell grievously sick, his pains having originated from the hardships of such a road, with the showers and heat. He died at last, succumbing to such fatigues. But those sufferings were continued by others, who conquered that stubbornness by their constancy and fervent application, although with the well-known risk of losing their lives. Consequently, those ministers who were there in the beginning say that, although they have been many years in other doctrinas and missions, they had not so much to suffer and endure in any of them as in that of Masbate.

[The third extract from Concepción's *Historia* is from vol. ix, pp. 123-150, and comprises all of the fourth chapter except the last paragraph.]

CHAPTER IV

By sentence of the royal Audiencia, the province of Zambales is restored to its first conquistadors, the discalced Augustinian Recollect fathers.

1. The Zambal Indians, of an intractable disposition, people of wild customs, and little or not at all content, were furious with the Dominican ministers in the reductions; they were groaning under the yoke of a life more regulated than their inclinations permitted. This made them think of insurrections and uprisings. The presidio of Painaven, well re-enforced, restrained them; and the raids of the com-

mandant, with detachments of men, into the mountains, intimidated them in their plans. They thought that the government of the Recollect fathers was milder, and hence they sighed for it. Those fathers tolerated their barbarous customs among a people so ferocious, and succeeded by their patience in softening and reducing them. Not so with the Dominican fathers, who learned the Zambals' tenacity at their own cost. In the village of Balacbac was an Indian chief named Dalinen; although he lived in that village, he kept his valuables in the mountains under charge of a nephew. Another Indian, a Cimarron, named Calignao, killed the latter treacherously. In order to avenge that murder, Dalinen retired with many of his followers to the dense woods. Father Fray Domingo Perez,⁷⁵ who was the minister of that mission, tried to prevent that flight, but was quite unable to remedy it; for seventeen families fled with Dalinen. The commandant of the fort at-

⁷⁵ Domingo Pérez was born in Santa Justa near Santander, in 1636. Entering the convent at Santillana, he professed as a Dominican there, October 14, 1659. Refusing the offer of a college education in Alcalá de Henares, he went to the Philippines, after teaching philosophy for a time at Mexico. Reaching Manila in December 1666, he taught philosophy until the following year, when he was assigned to the province of Bataán, at the convent of Oriong, which was declared independent of Abucay in that same year. Three of his five years there he acted as vicar. From Oriong he went to Samál, and thence to Abucay in 1675. Somewhat later he was sent to Balacbac, but remained there but a short time because of the complaints of the Recollects, who claimed that the Dominicans were usurping their territory. In 1677 he was appointed vicar of Abucay, where his capacity for work and his zeal were conspicuous. In 1678 he was appointed vicar of Binondoc, remaining there one year. When the Dominicans were given charge of the province of Zambales in 1679, he was made vicar of that whole district. He was conspicuous throughout the province for his efforts in destroying idol worship, and his opposition to that and all manner of vices finally ended in his murder, as re-

tacked them with his men and burned the ranchería of Aglao, the next village to Balacbac, to which the murderer and the injured man belonged.

2. Calignao had an extensive and strong kindred. Because they did not flee with him, father Fray Domingo endeavored to win them over. He asked for an adjutant's staff from the commandant of the fort, and dignified Calignao with it. Then in order to restrain the other side, it was published that the murder of the nephew [of Dalinen] was by the command of the government, which had ordered that all who would not reduce themselves to village life should be killed. That method, however, was insufficient to quiet them, but, on the contrary, roused the factions to a higher pitch. To please the commandant and to give stronger force to his faction, Calignao promised to assault Dalinen. He went into the mountain to put that promise into execution, and after a short time, Dalinen was killed by a Negro. His relatives were persuaded that the father had had a hand in that murder, and determined to pay him back. The same Calignao offered to do the deed, for this is what it means to benefit apostatized evil-doers. He sought an opportune occasion for the execution of his wicked intent, and found it in a journey which the father made to Baubuen to visit a communal house which he was building for strangers, and in order to confess father Fray Juan de Rois,⁷⁶ who was the minister there. During the

lated in the text. He died on November 15, 1683. He was the author of a relation on the customs and superstitions of the Zambals, which existed in the Dominican archives at Manila. See *Reseña biográfica*, ii, pp. 34-43.

⁷⁶ Juan Rois (Roes, Ruiz) was a Galician, and professed in the Dominican convent of Lugo, September 2, 1679. Arriving at the

absence of the father, Calignao descended the mountain, visited his relatives, and was informed that the minister would return in three days. He left his relatives, and in company with a faithless Negrito went to await the father at the bank of a large river, by which it was necessary to pass. When Father Perez reached that place, Calignao discharged an arrow, which passed before the father's breast without doing him any harm and lodged in a neighboring tree. When the father quite naturally turned his head to see who was firing at him, the Negrito Quibacat discharged his arrow, which, entering the father's body three fingers below the left breast, came out more than four fingers at the right side of his back. It was a twisted arrow, and when father Fray Domingo pulled on it, the wound became worse. With the most intense pain that he suffered, he broke out into "Jesus, be with me! Let them commend me to God, for I am dying."

3. He spurred on his horse, which ran until the father perceived that sight was failing him. Then he alighted, stretched himself at the foot of an agoso tree,⁷⁷ and, amid the outpouring of his blood, begged pardon from God for his sins. An Indian who accompanied him came up to him, and found him unconscious from great loss of blood. The father Philippines that same year, he was assigned in 1680 to the house at Masinloc, and in 1682 to that at Nueva Toledo. In 1684 he was again assigned to Masinloc, and in 1686 became vicar of Paynaven and vicar-provincial of Zambales. He was sent to the Batanes Islands with Father Mateo González, in 1688, where he died that same year from the unhealthfulness of the region and his hardships. See *Reseña biográfica*, ii, pp. 216, 217.

⁷⁷ Possibly the agos-os, or *Ficus pungens*, which is used occasionally in house construction. See *Official Handbook of Philippines*, p. 341; and Ahern's *Important Philippine Woods* (Forestry Bureau, Manila, 1901), p. 8.

ther recovered consciousness, but for so brief a time that he could not tell the Indian what to do. He fainted once more, so completely that the Indian thought that he was yielding up his life. He again recovered consciousness, and sent the servant to Balabac in order to get people to carry him thence. The Indian went to carry out that instruction. Meanwhile a man and three women arrived, and stayed with the father until the arrival of the men from the village who were very slow. For the Indian who had been sent could find no one who cared to take that charitable office upon himself, either the ministers of justice, the fiscals, or the sacristans. He was able to get three serving-lads in the convent, who made a hammock from a blanket, and carried the wounded religious in it. The latter, charging his messenger to go to Baubuen to advise Father Rois of his mishap, set out on his way to his village, where he arrived at nine o'clock at night. Father Rois, as soon as he received the news, got ready to go to the relief of his associate. After many frights, for everything was in an uproar, and his person ran no less risk [than that of Father Domingo], he reached the village at daybreak. He entered the cell of the wounded father, whom he found embracing a holy crucifix, and bathed in tears. Father Rois asked him "What is this, Father Vicar-prior?" "This means death," answered the sufferer. "I shall die; there is no relief." He was confessed, and received the sacred viaticum. He lived three days after that, without having his bed made, for his extreme pains would not permit it. Had they tended him well at the beginning, he would have recovered, for the wound was not mortal, and the Indians have medi-

cines which cure other things more dangerous. But the greatest care was not exercised in this. The third day after nightfall, the pains attacked him much more fiercely, and convulsions and paroxysms followed. He received extreme unction, after which he lost his speech, and remained remarkably quiet; and in that calm he yielded his spirit to the Creator.

4. The malicious Calignao, after having wounded the father, went to Balacbac, and made an effort to enter the convent in order to kill the servants of father Fray Domingo. The servants barred the doors on the inside until the wounded father arrived, and during all the three days while the latter lived, the murderer remained in the village, without anyone daring to raise a hand against him. During that time Calignao assaulted the convent several times, but could effect nothing, because of the vigilance of Father Rois. The commandant of the fort desired to go in person to punish the treachery, but he was prevented from it by the other religious, for the reason that if he were killed the fort was in danger; and, if that presidio were captured by the Zambals, there would not be a father or a Spaniard in Playahonda who would not be sacrificed to their fury. He sent indeed a detachment of men, with orders to arrest or kill Calignao; but they were unable to do so, as all the village was interested in his liberty. They were present at the funeral, which took place in the church on the following day, with all possible propriety. A year and a half later the father's bones were moved to the church of his convent at Manila.

5. It is said that God honored the place of his death or where he was wounded, by marvelous occurrences. For instance the large river on whose

shore he was shot, dried up, and was swallowed up by the earth, and no trace of it was ever found later, neither did it take a course elsewhere; while the bed of the river became full of agoso trees. And although the above tree is large, and needs more than ten years to grow tall, those trees grew up in so short a time that that place appeared a dense forest, so that they choked and parched the reed-grass, which never sprang up again. It was said that the earth which was dyed with his blood has never allowed any grass to grow since, although the grass about the agoso at whose foot the father fainted is abundant and very green. That tree is always more flourishing and luxuriant, so that in comparison with it the other trees seem like withered things. Also another smaller river which ran past Aglao and Baubuen dried up, and the earth was left very sterile. It is true that these things were said, but without any foundation. The large river still remains and flows in the same course, and that of Aglao has the same course, and there is no notice or tradition that it had ever dried up; and it is not possible that so remarkable a thing could be forgotten. It was true that the agoso under which he rested was preserved and is still preserved; but in that story are not registered the exaggerated circumstances, such as that of the grass and of the reed-grass. I say this with assurance because I have seen it at various times, and I have passed the large river with some risk. On the bank of that river I was shown the spot where the father was wounded, and the agoso in question, in which I found nothing worthy of wonder. In regard to the other agosos and those newly produced, I proved that there are both old and new

trees, for they are produced without any cultivation, and are conserved from time immemorial, and their very great age is recognized by their failing condition.⁷⁸

6. The Augustinian Recollect fathers, who had not left that administration [of Zambales] voluntarily, although they could not resist the change with Mindoro, asked for testimonies that they might present them at court. They protested in due form, and appointed ministers in their chapters, of whose election they apprised the Dominican fathers in legal form. Their recourse to court had the result that the parties [in the matter] were referred by the Council of the Indias to this royal Audiencia. The testimonies were brought to it, and it became sufficiently public. On that account the father procurator-general of the Order of St. Dominic, Fray Juan Peguero⁷⁹ appeared before the superior government. He stated that his Excellency the arch-

⁷⁸ See Salazar's *Historia*, pp. 275-313, for the Dominican account of the missions of Zambales, the incidents of Calignao, and the life of Father Domingo Pérez. Concepción evidently had before him this account in compiling his own.

⁷⁹ Juan Peguero, O.P., was born in Estremadura, and professed in the Seville convent, November 1, 1659. After arriving in the Philippines, he was assigned to the province of Bataán, where he labored in the convents of Samal and Abucay. He was associate in Binondoc during the years 1671-1673, when he became vicar of San Juan del Monte, serving also in the latter in 1680 and 1686-1691. He was vicar of Oriong 1677-1680, and became procurator, along with his other duties, in the latter year. His death occurred at the Manila convent, May 21, 1691. He wrote a compendium of the history of the province, and a biography of Domingo Pérez, the latter of which he dated and signed on February 1, 1691, and which was conserved in the Dominican convent at Manila. One of his works was to construct an aqueduct from the Pasig for the better water-supply of Manila, but an earthquake totally destroyed his work. See *Reseña biográfica*, ii, pp. 81, 82.

bishop and the governor had removed the Order of the Augustinian Recollects from the province of Zambales for reasons that they considered just, necessary, or reasonable, in accordance with the rulings of the laws of the new *Recopilación*,⁸⁰ and had given it to his province, they on their part having first made no efforts to get it. His order had received it only that they might serve God and the king. The Recollect fathers had received the island of Mindoro as a recompense, without offering any objection, and had expressly given up their rights to the province of Zambales. Nevertheless father Fray Juan de la Madre de Dios had presented a writing before the supreme Council, which was sent to this royal Audiencia, where as yet, more than eight months after the arrival of the galleons at the islands, it did not appear to have been presented. Without petitioning in any tribunal, [he said], a rumor was spread to the discredit of his province and to the prejudice of the propagation of the faith among the Zambals. The latter, in the hope which they had received from their former ministers that they would soon return to take charge of them, were fleeing to the mountains to become infidels, apostates, and idolaters, as they were formerly. Consequently, the ministers of his province found themselves hindered in the conversions and the administrations of the sacraments, as they were so disturbed that it was necessary for the commandant of the fort to seize some persons who returned from Manila and spread such a report. Not even this was a sufficient relief for the continual flights of the natives. On that ac-

⁸⁰ Doubtless the *Recopilación de las Leyes de los Reynos de las Indias*, first published at Madrid, 1681.

count he petitioned his Lordship, in the name of his province, to be pleased to employ suitable means, and what he believed best, for the avoidance of those scandals. His Lordship furnished a copy of the judicial proceedings⁸¹ to the Recollect side, ordering that they, with the reply that they should make, should give account of the royal decree mentioned in the allegation [aforesaid, by Fray Juan de la Madre de Dios]. Notification of this was communicated, on May 2, 1685, to father Fray Joseph de Jesus Maria, procurator-general of the discalced religious of St. Augustine. The latter said that he heard it and would answer in due form.

7. He did so, and presented himself with the copy authorized in public form, of the proceedings of the royal and supreme Council of the Indias in the cause prosecuted by the father procurator-general, Fray Juan de la Madre de Dios, asking that his province should be restored to its former possession of the ministries of Mariveles, Masinloc, Bolinao, Puquil, and Playa-honda, and the rest of the province of Zambales. The decision thereon, as appeared from the said proceedings, was referred to the royal Audiencia of Manila. In regard to the contents of Father Peguero's memorial, notwithstanding what he might petition, it should be refuted as outside the truth, as a calumny, and as grievously offensive to his province—which with excessive and continual work, and equal zeal in the service of both Majesties, had assisted in the administration of the Christians and the conversion of the infidels in the

⁸¹ *Traslado*: The reference or act of delivering written judicial proceedings to the other party, in order that on examination of them he may prepare his answer. Appleton's *New Velázquez Dictionary*.

aforesaid districts, from the year one thousand six hundred and seven to the year one thousand six hundred and seventy-nine, when it was despoiled actually and contrary to law, and the Dominican religious introduced into those missions. Notwithstanding the above, the said memorial, proceeding by malicious reports, and with a lack of accurate information, says that in the year seventy-six the said Father Peguero informed the government of these islands that the conversion and reduction of the Zambals—both the light-complexioned ones and those with the kinky hair, on both sides of the mountains that extend from Batan to Pangasinan, especially in the localities of Aglao, Buquil, Alupay, and Culiannan, and many others—had not been thitherto in charge of any of the orders of these islands. In consideration of that, he petitioned that that care be assigned to his order. Despatches were given him in accordance with the terms of his petition, without summoning the party of the Recollect province, which was in possession [of that territory] from the time mentioned above. That order was then especially extending its labors, and working in the reduction of the infidels of those very same places, and in the administration of a great number of Christians in those districts, who paid tribute to their encomenderos. His order having offered opposition, and having made a petition before the royal Audiencia to be protected in its ancient possession, this was done, and the Order of St. Dominic was excluded from its demand, as appeared from royal provision and proceedings, which would be presented if it were necessary. After his order had been placed in charge of

the administration of Mindoro, the Dominicans succeeded in getting the governor, then Don Juan de Vargas, to ask the father provincial, Fray Joseph de San Nicolas, to make a renunciation [of those districts]. The father provincial did it unwillingly, for it was a thing that he neither could or ought to do in regard to such districts, in order that other religious might be instituted — as were those of St. Dominic, in the year eighty. Two grave [Recollect] religious protested in the name of their province, against the renunciation made by their Recollect provincial; and all the ministers of Zambales protested against the violence with which they were despoiled of that administration, without their province having until then made any other judicial or extrajudicial effort than the conservation of their right, in order to demand it where and to what extent it may behoove them to do so. The provincial of his province had formally ordered his subjects not only not to solicit the natives of those districts to ask for, or allow them to ask for, these or other ministers; but they were to admonish them always to live consoled and contented, and to understand that the instruction which they received from the fathers of St. Dominic was the same, and [given with] the same zeal for the welfare of their souls. That order was obeyed, and there was no notice of its infraction. On the contrary, information was received that the present Dominican ministers told the natives that they were returning to carry forward what had been commenced by the Recollects. That proved that the Recollects did not keep their convents and churches, which they had abandoned to the Dominicans; as

does the suggestion that father Fray Raymundo Verart⁸² said that Captain Marcos de Rosales, encomendero of Marivelez, had made to him, for the latter earnestly entreated him to ask that the Recollects should be restored to the possession of those ministeries. He offered to make that request to him in writing.

8. Even though the religious of his province had represented to those natives that they would return to their ancient administration, one could not argue from that that any injury to the propagation of the faith, or to the credit of so holy an order [*i.e.*, the Dominican] would follow, as the memorial declared—in formal prejudice to his own order [*i.e.*, the Recollect] (in regard to which that order was protesting, in order to demand whatever was proper for its side). The proposed hopes of the restoration, however, would hinder the flight of the natives, which, it was known, proceeded from other reasons, through a great part of the villages of Zambales having been depopulated. That they had been living in idolatry from their first conversion, besides

⁸² Raimundo Berart, O.P., was a native of Cataluña, and professed in the convent of Santa Catalina Virgén y Martir, in Barcelona, at that time being doctor in both laws at the university of Lérida. He arrived at Manila at the age of twenty-eight, in the year 1679. He speedily became associate to the archbishop, Felipe Pardo, in whose defense he wrote several *manifestos* which remain in MS. In 1681 the ecclesiastical cabildo asked that the archbishop give him up, and probably in answer to that demand, he was assigned to the convent of Abucay in the province of Bataan. In 1684 he became vicar of that convent, and in 1686 he was appointed rector and chancellor of the college of Santo Tomás in Manila. He left the islands before July 13, 1689, and from that time until 1696 was in charge of the hospitium in Mexico. In 1696 he was sent to Spain as definitor in general chapter, and died in that country in 1713. See *Reseña biográfica*, ii, pp. 195-206.

being an implicative proposition, did not appear from the sentence of a competent tribunal, nor was it credible of all. And it was no new thing, that after some years, a few superstitions should be discovered [among the Indians], as was usually the case, and happened at every step; for it was not an easy thing to reduce mountain infidels to a civilized life, in which task the ministers must acquire thorough knowledge of their customs. Consequently, it had been impossible to eradicate their barbarous ferocity in committing murders, as they had done to a religious of the Order of St. Dominic. And because his province had shirked no labor for the service of God and the king, in the welfare of souls, especially in the administration of the Zambals during the space of sixty years, it desired to reap the fruit [of the harvest] that had been commenced; wherefore in furtherance of its claim he prayed his Lordship to order and command that the pleadings which had been presented be referred to the royal Audiencia, to the end that whatever should be ruled therein be considered as law. The decree enacted (with the opinion of the assessor) was, that the cognizance of the entire matter be referred to the royal Audiencia, so that the parties to the suit might there plead their claims in equity, and in fulfilment of the decree of the supreme Council of the Indias. The Recollect procurator-general having been notified, appeared before the royal Audiencia with his claim together with the rest of the papers annexed, which, having been presented, were considered as referred to that tribunal for official action therein. Notice of that decision having been given to father Fray Juan Peguero, he said that he heard it, and pleaded

that the papers be given him for his reply as was done. But I shall not give his answer here, because of the irregularity of his pleadings, his rashness of speech, his boldness of opinion, and his disrespect for the royal power, since his Majesty does not allow causes to be conducted in rude fashion, especially when they do not bear on the case in point, while personal defects of ecclesiastics were not under consideration in the present case, nor in the cause which was being prosecuted, as it concerned ministries only.

9. In conclusion his reply was that while maintaining the contrary of what was advanced by the Recollect fathers, as their province was not a party [to the suit]; he petitions and prays that his Highness deign to issue a citation on the party [of the Recollects], to the end that an investigation be made of all the aforesaid, as was necessary, and becoming, etc. The ruling was that the decree be communicated to the father procurator of the Recollects, who answered as follows, namely, that he acknowledged the indecorous manner in which, in view of the sovereignty of the royal Audiencia, the good name of his side and his subjects was injured. But that although he could answer point by point, he would avoid doing so, as it was a matter in which, leaving aside the requirements of law, which were to be complied with, the subject matter was getting to be a bone of contention, and a partisanship dispute – a matter which ought to be held in abhorrence by religious, who are placed as models for all in these regions, and because law enjoins the manner in which one ought to speak in the royal courts of justice, where it is expressly forbidden to bring forward incriminating libels in place of actions of laws; for

these wound not only the sacredness of the religious orders, but even the sovereignty of such a tribunal, to which is due the highest respect. On that account they ought to order the withdrawal of the two allegations presented by Father Peguero as being indecorous, and notice ought to be given to the said father to answer as was fitting, by representing the authority that his province had in the administration of Zambales; in default of which, the court was to record them as having been duly pleaded. To this motion, the gentlemen [of the Audiencia] agreed that the decree should issue, and the clerk of the assembly summoned the said Father Peguero in due form for the examination, who thereupon refused such style of procedure until he had presented his grounds for opposing such action [*i.e.*, the above decision of the Audiencia].

10. The said father procurator pleaded before his Highness that Doctor Calderon, the senior auditor, during his week had refused to sign a paper in which he [*i.e.*, the Recollect procurator-general], pleaded in regard to the pending article; and having been ordered to present himself in the royal Audiencia, he did this by means of two religious at a time when the said doctor was the only member present in the Audiencia, because of the illness of his associate judges. There a decree was entered which ordered that the writ and other papers pertaining to this matter be presented by a procurator of the royal Audiencia, who could be punished in default for his negligence. And in view of the fact that he considered this measure burdensome and harmful to his order and person, as he was condemned before sentence was passed on the point, and the order was

prevented from prosecuting this or any other cause in the royal courts, because of their well-known poverty, he prayed his Highness to deign to repeal the said act, and to allow his province the liberty of having it prosecuted by its own prosecutors. A decree to that effect was passed and the trial set for the first day, when the said Doctor Don Diego Calderon should be present.

11. The auditor, in order to justify his act in the royal Audiencia, related that Father Peguero had brought a paper to his house for him to fill out to the effect that the petition, which as he declared, he was going to present to the royal courts, should come before him, the said auditor, during his week; and that in consideration of the fact that it was a matter that concerned priests against priests, of religious missionaries against religious of the same institute, it could not set forth allegations that were wanting in fraternal charity and profound humility. This he signed without reading it, while charging the father procurator to present it in the royal courts, as was done on the day when his Lordship was the only member present [in the Audiencia]. The petition was granted and an order issued to have the papers served on the Recollect father procurator, who was bid to file his answer thereto; furthermore, in order to determine this point, the abovesaid auditor ordered that the case so far as concerned the examination of the same be laid before him. Peguero, not content with what was done, presented another petition in regard to the same cause, that it might be signed officially and passed. But having glanced over it, he found that this should not be done, as it contained other unbecoming expressions based on the one that had been presented previously,

and therein at variance with the laws and ordinances of the royal Audiencia, wherefore he told the said father procurator to hand his petition back and present it when all the members [of the Audiencia] were assembled. The result was that their illness still continuing, two lay-brethren, religious of the Order of Preachers, entered the chamber and requested that the petition that they presented be granted, which was the same as had been presented by the father procurator Peguero, in which his Highness was able to recognize the irregularity of the statements, and his inability to sanction such proceedings, through his desire for public peace, and to the end that such holy orders be not embarrassed with injurious writs. Consequently, in order to prevent disrespectful petitions from being presented in those tribunals, his Highness had to decree what was most in consonance with loyalty to both their Majesties, and the public peace.

12. This decree was as follows: "Decision of the royal court this day, September eleven, one thousand seven hundred and five.⁸³ The measure passed by Señor Calderon is approved, and in accordance therewith, a decree to that effect shall be issued. Because of their great poverty, only the first petitions of the Indians shall be received without attorney."

13. The decree so enacted had the effect that the office of procurator-general of the province of Santissimo Rosario was changed and given to father Fray Domingo Escalera,⁸⁴ who together with the

⁸³ This date cannot be reconciled with the dates that follow. It may be an error for 1685.

⁸⁴ Domingo de Escalera was a native of Andalucia, and professed in the Dominican order at Madrid, September 10, 1665. He was a deacon at his arrival at the Philippines. He was first

procurator-general of the Recollects, presented a joint petition to his Highness to deign to have the preceding writs annulled, as they were not suitable and germane to the case, nor respectful to the royal Audiencia and the parties [in the suit]. This was handed to the fiscal for review, who said that, because of their joint agreement, and moreover, because the writs were not germane to the case in the chief point of the pending suit, greater harmony would result to the two orders which were at law, and to the public cause, and that if the writs were juridically annulled because of their contents, his Highness could order the execution of what the parties petitioned, and such decree would be valid and efficacious – an opinion however that had no definitive result. Then in regard to the writ presented by the Recollect procurator Father Escalera rejoined that, inasmuch as such ministries were handed to his province by the government, if his Highness were pleased to order that they be restored to the plaintiff province his province was ready to do its part, and for that purpose he renounced this copy

assigned to the house of San Gabriel in Binondo; became vicar of Sámal in the province of Bataán in 1680, and in 1682 of Abucay, after which he was again at Binondo. During the years 1686-1690, he was procurator-general, and during part of that time (1686-1688), had charge of the natives in the Manila convent. In 1690 he was definitor and acted as vicar again of Binondo, where he remained until 1698, when he became president of the college of San Juan de Letrán. He was appointed president of the hospital of San Gabriel, and procurator-general of the province. Although assigned as vicar of the convent of San Telmo in Cavite in 1702, he resigned that office in November of that same year, and went to the mission at Ituy. His death occurred on the nineteenth of the following month, and resulted from the unhealthful region. During the year spent among the mountains of Zambales, he formed the village of Malso. See *Reseña biográfica*, ii, pp. 169, 170.

of the proceedings, and any other, as he had nothing to petition or plead. Therefore, in consideration of the decrees already passed in which he considered himself as cited, his Highness should deign to issue an order for whatever should be his pleasure. Consequently, a decree was drawn up embodying the ordinances that had been made in which the parties were recorded as having been cited, as they considered themselves as cited, and the Recollect procurator presented proofs to the effect that his province had never renounced such ministries, but had always violently protested against the fact of their having been despoiled thereof, in support of which it had been prosecuting the cause in the Council. For the Dominicans, their prior provincial, father Fray Christoval Pedroche, answered the citation by saying that his province had held those ministries in encomienda and trust in the name of his Majesty through the vice-patron, and consequently, if any act of spoliation had been committed, his province was not a party thereto, just as it was not a party to the present proceedings. Therefore he was ready to return them whenever his Highness so ordered; and hence he did not oppose the claim of the Recollect fathers. In answer to their statement that they had elected priors for those missions in all their provincial chapters, and that therein they had no other consideration than the service of God in those missions and the spiritual welfare of souls, he petitioned that his province be adjudged as not a party in the said suit, protesting moreover that he would not plead, or in any way oppose his Highness's decision. When the parties were cited, an order was issued by the court that with these decrees be united those

which were enacted by the master-of-camp, Don Juan de Vargas Hurtado, for the assignment of the Zambals to the Dominican fathers. The decrees having thus been brought together, various motions were made, in which proceedings the Dominicans always by joint action refused to be recognized as a party thereto. Whereupon the members of the court having examined the proceedings after their previous examination by the fiscal, declared, that notwithstanding the reply of the father provincial of the Order of Preachers in which he petitioned that his order be declared not to be a party, they maintained, as they now maintained, that he was a legitimate party in these proceedings; moreover that they ordered him, as they now repeated their order, that he notify the father procurator-general of the said order to answer to the summons within three days, and to make full return thereto. He was also warned that if, at the expiration of said limit, he had not done so, the royal courts would declare the proceedings so far as taken as sufficient, and the case would be prosecuted in them. The Dominican procurator having been cited and notified, said that he obeyed the decree of his Highness, that he heard it, but that there was no answer to be given, as he was not a party, as he had already declared, and that in case that it was necessary he would repeat the same answer of his father provincial. This occurrence took place on November twenty-four, one thousand six hundred and ninety.

14. Thus this matter [*expediente*] rested until the year one thousand seven hundred and ten, when the alferez, Nicolas Guerrero, one of the ordinary attorneys of the royal Audiencia, presented a certifi-

cate empowering him as the chief authorized agent of the province of San Nicolas, to act as their attorney in the matter in hand. Thereupon, he declared that in maintenance of the claim of the said province, it was advisable to examine the minutes of the proceedings hitherto conducted in the royal courts, in regard to the restitution of their former missions of Zambales and everything pertaining to them. Accordingly, he prayed his Highness to deign to order the secretary to produce the said minutes, which on being given to the said attorney, he appeared before his Highness and stated that in accordance with the last royal order of six hundred and ninety, whereby the other party was required to answer fully, this had not been done, but that the party had merely referred to its former pleadings, and that any other answer had not been made during the space of twenty years, so that the suit had been unduly prolonged; and moreover, that the matter having been recently investigated, his side has a paper (which he now presents with all solemnity), namely, a private letter from the father provincial of the Dominicans, Fray Pedro Mejorada,⁸⁵ in reply to one from the provin-

⁸⁵ Pedro Mejorada, O.P., professed in the convent at Salamanca, and on going to the Philippines was assigned to the Tagalog district. He ministered four years in Binondo, then the same period in Sámal, in the province of Bataán. In 1694, he was assigned as lecturer on theology at the college of Santo Tomás in Manila, where he remained for four years. The following eight years were spent in Abucay and Oriong. In the year 1702 he received the title of calificador of the Holy Office, and in 1706 was appointed rector and chancellor of the university, which position he filled until 1710, when he was elected provincial of the order. On the termination of that office in 1714, he was elected regent of studies in the college of Santo Tomás. In November of that same year, however, he resigned in order to return to his convent at Salamanca, arriving in Madrid in 1716. Although he was elected prior of the Salamanca convent, he was

cial of the Recollects, Fray Francisco de la Madre de Dios, in which he declares, that he answered in the same manner as his province had done on former occasions; that he would not oppose the abandoning of the said missions as he was not a party thereto, for his province had taken these under their charge solely in compliance with the orders of Governor Don Juan de Vargas and Archbishop Don Phelipe Pardo; that, moreover, at the present time when his province was so straitened through the lack of religious, if they were not succored in that regard it would be necessary for them to take other steps. Wherefore (he added), so far as matters have now gone he might do what he pleased, for his province would offer no opposition, and was prepared to give up those missions if so requested and charged to do. In this letter, moreover, among other points, it was inferable that his province was ready to leave the said missions of Zambales. Therefore the attorney petitioned and prayed his Highness to deign to have the case brought up for final trial, declaring his client as entitled to the possession of such missions, to whom they should therefore be restored. Thereupon the judges decided that the measures so far taken together with that letter should be acted upon; that the trial should be proceeded with without prejudice to whatever had already been decided, and that all the papers in the case be handed over to the fiscal of this royal Audiencia, for his opinion (within three days) of what steps it was advisable not to be allowed to enjoy that position, for a royal appointment as bishop of Nueva Segovia caused him, howbeit unwillingly, to return to the Philippines. Entering those islands once more in 1718, he assumed the duties of his office, but died in Vigan in June of the following year in the sixty-third year of his age, and after a residence in the islands of thirty-one years. See *Reseña biográfica*, ii, pp. 230-234.

to take. Thereupon, for reasons given, the latter replied that what had been advised by the fiscal of the royal and supreme Council ought to be carried out, and hence a similar order might issue from this royal Audiencia, with notice to the reverend fathers provincial, parties in interest, that so far as concerned their spiritual care the natives might be relieved promptly. In accordance with this, the judges ordered that all parties should proceed to the chamber for final sentence. Thereupon their decision was that the reverend fathers provincial should be apprised of the sentence as given in this cause for their judgment in the exercise of their rights; and that whether they assented or not, they should appear to hear the decision to be given.

15. The parties being notified, and a report of the proceedings having been proclaimed, sentence was then given as follows: "In the city of Manila, October twenty-two, one thousand seven hundred and twelve: The president and auditors of the royal Audiencia and Chancilleria of these islands assembled in the royal courts thereof, having examined in relation the proceedings prosecuted on the part of the Recollect province and religious of San Nicolas de Tolentino of these islands, against the province of Santo Rosario and the religious of St. Dominic in regard to the restitution of the spiritual administration of the natives of the province of Zambales, hereupon declared that they ought to restore – and they hereby have restored – to the said Recollect province, and religious of San Nicolas of these islands the spiritual administration of the natives of Zambales, in the same manner as they held it at the time when the very reverend and devout father provincial of the said order, Fray Joseph de

San Nicolas de Tolentino, resigned, handed over, and separated them from his administration in the former year one thousand six hundred and seventy-nine. In consequence whereof they moreover ordered – and they have so ordered – that there be made out in due form for the party of the said Order of San Nicolas a warrant to that effect. Thus was it decreed, ordered, and subscribed to in the presence of his Majesty's fiscal.

DOCTOR TORRALVA
LICENTIATE VILLA
THE FISCAL”

In the presence of Antonio de Yepes y Arce, notary-public. Their decision was heard and obeyed promptly by the party to the suit, and proper warrants having been received, the spiritual administration of the Zambals was peacefully restored to the province of San Nicolas of the Augustinian Recollects. Perhaps the very reverend father chronicler, Fray Domingo Collantes,⁸⁶ did not have at hand these original documents when he penned the fourth part of the chronicles of his province of Santissimo Rosario which has been recently published; and this must be the reason for the so great diversity in the [story of the] restoration of Zambales, and for the minuteness with which it is discussed here.

⁸⁶ Domingo Collantes, the author of the fourth part of the Dominican history of the Philippines, was a native of Villa de Herrin de Campos, in the bishopric of Palencia. He professed in the convent at Valladolid, in 1764, and arrived in Manila, July 8, 1769. He held several conventual posts in his order there, among them that of provincial: The bishopric of Nueva Cáceres was later given to him. His death occurred in Manila in 1808 at the age of sixty. See Pardo de Tavera's *Biblioteca filipina*, p. 107.

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The documents in this volume are obtained from the following sources:

1. *Jesuit letters*.— From Ventura del Arco MSS. (Ayer library), iv, pp. 1-3, 69-72.

2. *Discovery of Palaos*.— From *Lettres édifiantes* (1st Paris ed.) i (1717), pp. 112-136, from a copy in the library of the Wisconsin Historical Society.

3. *Recollect missions*.— From Pedro de San Francisco de Assis's *Historia general de los religiosos descalzos de San Agustin* (Zargoza, 1756), all that relates to Philippine missions; from a copy in the Library of Congress. Also Juan de la Concepción's *Historia de Philipinas*, viii, pp. 3-16, 135-144, and ix, pp. 123-150; from a copy in possession of the Editors.

4. *Appendix: Moro pirates*.— From Combés's *Historia de Mindanao, Iolo*, etc.; Murillo Velarde's *Historia de Philipinas*; Diaz's *Conquistas*; and other works, as is fully indicated in the text.

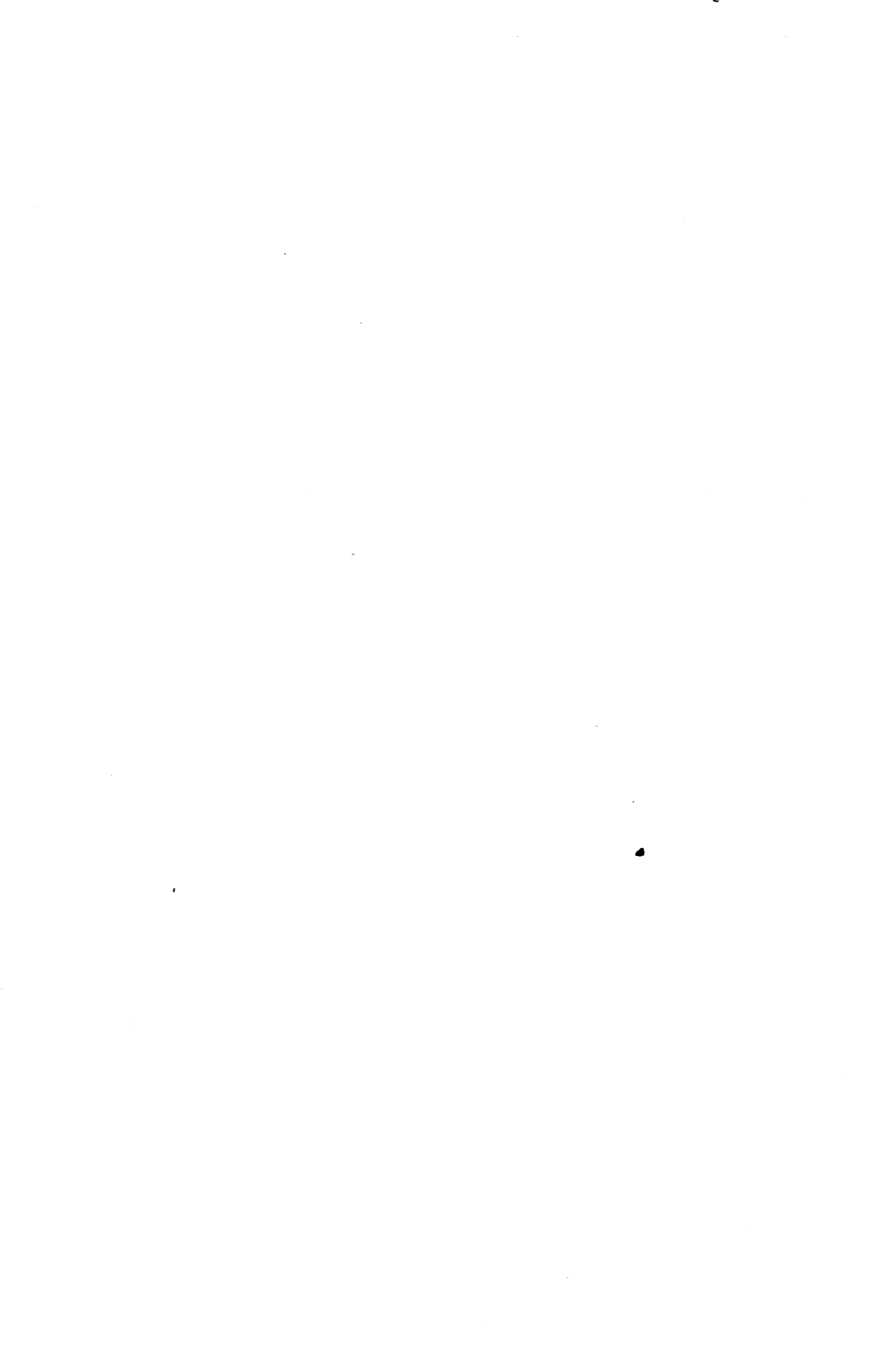


APPENDIX: MORO PIRATES

Moro pirates and their raids in the seventeenth century.

SOURCES: This account is compiled from various historians — Combés, Murillo Velarde, Díaz, Concepción, and Montero y Vidalas is fully indicated in the text.

TRANSLATION: This is made by Emma Helen Blair.



MORO PIRATES AND THEIR RAIDS IN THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY

I

[In previous volumes have appeared various accounts of the piratical raids made, down to 1640, by the Mahometan Malays of Mindanao and other southern islands against the Spaniards and the native tribes whom they had subjected in the northern islands. A very brief outline of that information is here presented, with citations of volumes where it appears, as a preliminary to some further account which shall summarize this subject for the remainder of the seventeenth century.]

[When Legazpi first explored the Philippines, he sent some of his officers to open up trade with Mindanao, then reputed to be rich in gold and cinnamon (VOL. II, pp. 116-118, 147, 154, 209, 210). At the outset, much jealousy arose among the Spaniards against the Mahometan Malays (whom they called Moros) of that and other islands in the southern part of the Eastern archipelago, for two reasons — the Moros were “infidels,” and they far excelled the Spaniards as traders (VOL. II, pp. 156, 159, 186, 187; IV, pp. 66, 151, 174). Moreover, the natives were everywhere hostile to the Spaniards because the Portuguese representing themselves to be Castilians,

had previously made cruel raids on some of those islands, notably Bohol (VOL. II, pp. 117, 184, 207, 208, 229; III, p. 46). In that first year, 1565, a Bornean vessel was captured by the Spaniards, after a desperate fight; but hostilities then went no further (VOL. II, pp. 116, 206). The Moros of the Río Grande of Mindanao proffered (1574) their submission to the Spanish power, apparently being in some awe of it (VOL. III, p. 275). Governor Sande had expansive ideas of Spanish dominion, and in 1578-79 undertook an expedition for the subjugation of Borneo, Mindanao, and Joló; he obtained a temporary success, but the Moros again asserted their independence as soon as the Spaniards departed (VOL. IV, pp. 125, 130, 148-303; XV, pp. 54, 132). This expedition was partly caused by piratical raids made by the Borneans (VOL. IV, pp. 151, 153, 154, 159; VI, p. 183), and the Joloans (VOL. IV, pp. 176, 236) against the northern islands. Apparently this punishment intimidated the Moros for a time; the next important raid by them was in 1595 (VOL. IX, p. 196; XI, p. 266). In 1591 Esteban Rodriguez de Figueroa had made a contract with Gomez P. Dasmariñas for the conquest of Mindanao (VOL. VIII, pp. 73-77). The island had then been partly explored and much of it assigned to Spaniards in repartimiento; some of these allotments are mentioned in VOL. VIII, pp. 127, 128, 132 (a list of those bestowed in 1571 is found in the Pastells edition of Colin's *Labor evangélica*, i, p. 157, note 1). Instructions were given to Figueroa on November 13, 1595 (VOL. IX, pp. 181-188), and in the following spring he set out with an armed force; but hardly had he begun the campaign when he was slain by





Map of Magendanao (Mindanao); drawn by Fakynolano, elder brother of the sultan of that place, *ca.* 1700

[Photographic facsimile of original MS. map in the British Museum]

a Moro (VOL. IX, pp. 195, 196, 263-265, 276, 277; XV, pp. 89-93; XVI, pp. 270-272). Juan de Ronquillo succeeded him, and for the time "pacified" the hostile Moros (VOL. IX, pp. 281-298; X, pp. 41, 42, 49, 168, 169, 214, 215; XI, p. 236; XV, pp. 95-100; XVI, pp. 273, 274); see his own report of the campaign (VOL. X, pp. 53-74) and Tello's (VOL. X, pp. 219-226; cf. VOL. XI, pp. 135-139). In 1599 the Spanish fort at La Caldera was dismantled (VOL. XI, pp. 138, 139, 237; XV, pp. 190, 191); this emboldened the Moros to renew their piracies, and from 1600 on they harassed the Visayan Islands and even Luzón – not only the Mindanaos but their allies the Ternatans, and the Joloans (VOL. XI, pp. 238, 239, 292-301, 303; XII, pp. 32, 39-41, 134-137; XIII, pp. 49, 146, 147; XV, pp. 192-196, 209, 265-267; XVIII, pp. 185-187, 331, 333; XIX, pp. 67, 68, 215-218, 223-225; XXII, pp. 89, 90, 203-206; XXIII, p. 259; XXIV, pp. 35-37, 102-104, 139, 142, 143, 329; XXV, pp. 86, 105, 152-154, 199; XXVI, p. 285; XXVII, pp. 215-226, 316). Similar raids were made by the Camucones, Moros from some small islands near Borneo (VOL. XVIII, p. 79; XXII, pp. 89, 132, 133, 202, 296-298, 303; XXIV, pp. 97, 138; XXV, pp. 154-156; XXVII, pp. 314-316; XXIX, pp. 31, 200). These attacks kept the peaceful natives in constant fear; their villages were burned and plundered, and their fields ravaged; and thousands were carried away to be sold as slaves, being thus dispersed among the Malay Islands. In 1621 Hernando de los Rios Coronel stated that ten thousand Christians were held captive in Mindanao (VOL. XIX, p. 264). At times the Spaniards sent armed fleets in pursuit of these pirates, but the latter would escape, on account of the superior lightness and

swiftness of their vessels. Punitive expeditions were sent to their villages, some of which were futile, but others inflicted on them severe punishment—Joló: 1602 (VOL. XV, pp. 240-243, 264, 265), 1626 (XXII, pp. 207-210), 1628 (XXII, pp. 293-295; XXIV, pp. 143-145), 1630 (XXIII, pp. 87, 88, 98; XXIV, pp. 163-165); and Mindanao: 1625 (XXII, pp. 116-119, 218, 224). It was proposed to enslave any Moro pirates who might be captured (VOL. XVII, pp. 187, 296, 331; XXIX, p. 269), and this was sometimes done (VOL. XXII, p. 134). Finally, Corcuera undertook to chastise them effectually; and in 1637 he led a large and well-equipped expedition to Mindanao, which captured Corralat's stronghold and devastated nearly all the coast of that island, driving out Corralat as a fugitive and intimidating other chiefs who had intrigued with him against the Spaniards (VOL. XXVII, pp. 253-305, 319-325, 346-357; XXIX, pp. 28-30, 60, 86-101, 116-134). Corcuera followed up this success by another in Joló, in 1638 (VOL. XXVII, p. 325; XXVIII, pp. 41-63; XXIX, pp. 32, 36, 43, 44, 135, 136), and in the following year a Spanish expedition severely chastised the Moros around Lake Lanao, in Mindanao (XXIX, pp. 159, 161-163, 273-275); further military operations in Joló and Mindanao, on a smaller scale, occurred during 1638-39 (VOL. XXIX, pp. 141-166, 198-200). It may be noted, further, that the Jesuits established missions there at an early date, evangelists of that order going with Figueroa in 1596 (VOL. XII, pp. 313-321; XIII, pp. 47-49, 86-89; XXII, p. 117; XXVIII, pp. 94-99, 151, 171); and others were founded by Augustinian Recollects (XXI, pp. 196-247, 298-303; XXIV, p. 115; XXVIII, pp. 152, 175, 340-345).]

II

[The second reduction of Joló – by Almonte, in 1639 (VOL. XXIX, p. 143) – subdued all of that archipelago, save the Guimbanos, a fierce Moro people inhabiting the mountains of Sulu (Joló) Island, who were hostile to the Joloans of the coast. When Almonte ordered them to cease disturbing the pacified Joloans, the Guimbanos made an insolent reply, telling the Spaniards to come to their country and learn the difference between them and the Joloans. Almonte therefore sent (July, 1639) troops, under Luis de Guzman and Agustin de Cepeda, to subdue these proud mountaineers; and after a fierce battle the Guimbanos retreated, leaving four hundred dead on the field, and three hundred captives in the hands of the Spaniards – of whom eight died, including Guzman, besides twenty Indian auxiliaries. (Murrillo Velarde, *Hist. de Philipinas*, fol. 96 b, 97.) After the departure of Almonte from Joló, affairs went ill, Morales being unfit for his post as governor of those islands, although he was valiant in battle. Having abducted a beautiful girl, daughter of a chief named Salibanza, a conspiracy against him was formed by the enraged father; this was discovered, and the leaders seized. This, with several arbitrary and hostile measures of Morales, stirred up the Joloans to revolt, and an affray occurred between them and the Spaniards, in which Morales was wounded. Juan Ruiz Maroto was sent to relieve him from office, and tried to pacify the natives, but in vain; he then sent Pedro de la Mata Vergara to harry all the coast of Joló, who burned many villages and carried away three thousand captives. Mata, being obliged to return to Mindanao, was succeeded

by Morales, who rashly attacked (near Párang, Sulu Island) a force of Moros with troops exhausted by forced marches; the Spaniards, although in numbers far superior to the Moros, were ignominiously put to flight, thirty-nine of their number being slain, including Morales and another officer. At this time Cepeda was governor of Joló, and he soon found it necessary to chastise the natives, who were encouraged to rebellion by their recent victory. (Combés, *Hist. de Mindanao*, col. 402-412; Murillo Velarde, *Hist. de Philipinas*, fol. 121-122; Montero y Vidal, *Hist. piratería*, i, pp. 175-181, 199-211.) An account of his exploits in this direction is furnished by letters of the Jesuit Miguel Paterio to Father Juan Lopez, regarding the expeditions of Cepeda (to whom Combés dedicated his book), written in 1643-44 (*ut supra*, col. cix-cxv); we present them here as a specimen of the proceedings in these punitive expeditions.]

Relation of the exploit which was accomplished in the villages of Paran by Captain and Sargento-mayor Don Agustin de Zepeda, warden of the forts in Jolo.

After the disaster to Admiral Morales, the Guimbanos of the villages of Paran were very arrogant and haughty, so that, however much they were invited, with assurance of peace and pardon, to lay down their arms before those of our king, and to restore the Spanish weapons that they were keeping, they paid no heed to it. Seeing this, Sargento-mayor Don Augustin de Cepeda, the better to justify the expedition that he intended to make against them, sent word to them through other Guimbanos who were

our friends, that they must restore the arms that they had taken from the Spaniards, and that if they did not restore these he would wage war against them. To this they replied that those arms were converted into lances, and that nothing would be given up to the Spaniards, whether Don Agustin marched against them or not. The captain and sargento-mayor received this reply on Tuesday, December 29, and on Wednesday, the thirtieth of the same month, he determined to make a daylight attack on them with the utmost secrecy. Accordingly, at four in the afternoon, almost all the soldiers made their confessions, and the sargento-mayor exhorted them to rouse all their courage, as brave soldiers, since they were fighting for both the majesties [*i.e.*, the divine and the royal], and they had the sure protection of the mother of God, our Lady of Good Success. Then they set out from the hill of Jolo with only twenty-five Spaniards and three officers, [Çepeda's lieutenants being] Adjutant Diego de los Reyes and Alférez Gaspar de Chaves; and twenty-two Pampangos and Cagaians, with their officers, also ten or fifteen servants with their pikes and shields. Of this infantry the captain formed three divisions, giving to each one its own watchword – to the first one, "Jesus be with all;" to the second, "Our Lady of Good Success;" to the third, "Saint Ignatius" – and each division was ordered to render aid according to its watchword, and as the enemy should sound the call to arms. With this order, they began their march, and proceeded until nightfall, when they marched in single file, since the road and the darkness gave no opportunity for doing otherwise. They passed rivers, ravines, marshes, and miry places, un-

til they arrived at a village of a Guimbano chief named Ulisten, near which they heard coughing in the houses; and [they moved] so cautiously that they were not perceived. The sargento-mayor did not choose to enter this village, not only because the chief had showed his friendship for the Spaniards, but because his only intention was to punish the people of Paran, who had merited this by their acts in the past and by the haughty spirit that they showed. For the same reason, he would not enter another village near this one, belonging to another chief, named Sambali—who, if it were not for the purpose that the commander had in mind, deserved to lose his head for his rebellious disposition in not being friendly to the Spaniards. From the hill to these two villages may be a journey of about two leguas and a half; the road is very bad, and of the sort that has been described, [passing through] marshes and rough places; and, with the darkness of a moonlight night, to go among trees, thickets, and tangled briers was intolerable and full of difficulty. Not less wearisome was the road which they still must take to reach the people and village of Paran, and even more difficult: but neither the one nor the other could weaken or diminish the tenacity, spirit, and valor which not only the captain but his soldiers displayed. They traveled all night in this way until a little before daybreak, when they mistook the road, and took another, which did not lead to the village where they meant to go; but God chose that the people of that very village should serve as guides [to the Spaniards], by furnishing them light—for on account of quieting some infants who were crying, they kindled lights in the houses. The sargento-

mayor ordered them to march toward that place, where they arrived at daybreak; and there they remained about half an hour, waiting for the dawn to brighten so that they might break the countersign⁸⁷ and make the daylight attack [*dar el albasso*] on the said village, which they did. For when it became light, and the day was brightening, they broke the watchword, which was "St. Ignatius;" and the division to which that belonged made the first attack on the houses, jointly with the vanguard, which went ahead to reconnoiter. All the forces united to make this assault on the houses, and to break through the defenses of the village and enter, all in order, with lighted matches and to sound of drums, as they did. In their houses this occasioned a great tumult; some were slain by musket-balls, some by lance-thrusts; others escaped naked, fleeing without thought of their kindred or their possessions, abandoning their weapons and whatever they had; others, finally, were burned to death in their houses, to which our men set fire—the natives remaining in them either through fear, or that they might not fall into our hands and be slain by our lances. They hid themselves, therefore, for the greater protection—only to have their houses, and their granaries of rice, and their bodies burned [here], and finally their souls in hell. Besides this, their cultivated fields were laid waste, set out with all the plants that they rear—bananas, sugar-cane, and other plants which furnish them with food; and our men did the

⁸⁷ Spanish, *romper el nombre*; "to cease using the countersign of recognition, when daybreak comes, for which purpose the drums, cornets, trumpets, or other musical instruments give the signal with the call named *diana*" (Dominguez); cf. French *reveille*.

same with these, destroying and burning everything. This done they looked about, scanning the country in all directions, and saw an impregnable height; and when the commander understood that this was (as it proved to be) the citadel of the enemies, he gave the order to march thither. They proceeded by a path or trail so narrow that they were obliged to ascend in single file; and when they reached the top of the said hill they found a plateau, more spacious than that of our hill of Jolo, on which were houses, some fortified and some small ones. The former were full of provisions and contained some Guimbanos. These, seeing our men and recognizing them as enemies, immediately abandoned the houses and took to flight, throwing themselves headlong from the heights. Our men entered the place, and burned the houses with the rice and other things contained in them; and they laid waste the fields and destroyed what had been planted in them, as they had done in the villages before ascending the hill. Our men were occasioned no little anxiety by their failure, after this exploit, to find the road by which to leave the hill; for, as it had in every direction precipices and rugged heights, they had great difficulty and hardship in getting away from the hill, on account of not being able to strike the path by which they had entered. But finally the Blessed Virgin who hitherto had been our Lady of Success, chose to show also that she was our Lady of Good Success—which she did by enabling our men to depart in safety from the hill. For the alférez, going to make a hasty reconnoissance with four arquebusiers, and some servants armed with pikes and shields, saw [traces of men's] work among

the trees that covered the hill; and, upon reaching the place, ascertained that there was a path by which he could descend. Notifying the troops of this, they went down the hill by this path, and thus returned to the houses that they had burned, all marching in regular order. They approached the seashore through a level field, passing near the harbor where the natives had slain Admiral Morales; and, as they advanced through the open country, they encountered four Guimbano Indians, shouting [or grimacing?—*haciendo carracheo*], who came from a grove that was growing on the said seashore. When our men tried to get near them, these Indians took to their heels, retreating toward the grove—where, it was understood, they had an ambushade; and as it was now eleven o'clock, the sargento-mayor did not think it best to delay [his return] longer. Accordingly, they marched in the same order, and to the sound of drums, toward the fortification that stood on the seashore, going through fields and mangrove thickets, and along beaches and pools of water, another two leguas and a half, until they reached the harbor where they had provided some boats. In these the sargento-mayor and all his troops embarked, and returned to these forts, with great satisfaction and rejoicing at so complete a success, without losing one of our men, or encountering any danger. Many salvos were fired from the boats in which they came, and from the forts, in honor of their protectors, Jesus, Mary, and Ignatius.

From this expedition and victory I have learned some things about Guimba which are worth mentioning here. The first is, that two days afterward

the people of Paran made war on the chiefs Ulis and Sambali whom we mentioned above, complaining that these chiefs had not warned them that the Spanish troops had passed close to their villages, and even because they had allowed the Spaniards to pass them. May God establish them in peace, and grant them light and a knowledge of the truth. And after this expedition, as I have said, one of the chiefs in the villages to the east named Suil, complained that the sargento-mayor had not informed him of it, so that Suil with all his men might have accompanied the Spaniards. Although he may not be sincere, thanks are returned to him, and probably his offer was prompted by the admiration and high opinion that he entertains for our men since this exploit; or because he feared lest the like fate might befall him. He and other chiefs beyond Guimba to the east have sent to tell me that, although those who killed the sargento-mayor are their brothers, they will not for that reason fail to be the friends of the Spaniards; and that they will come to the village of the Lutaos who are in this fort [*i.e.*, at Joló] to talk with the father and treat of peace. And it cannot be denied that there has been a great disturbance among them since this expedition, and it has caused among them all not only fear, but astonishment also, to see that so few Spaniards could dare to traverse almost all of Guimba, marching almost all the way among the settlements, without being seen. In this affair not only the caution of the Spaniards, but their courage in penetrating among so many barbarians, the most valiant in all these islands, is causing great admiration – which is increased at seeing how so few Spaniards made so great a number of enemies take to

flight; for in all the villages there are nearly a thousand barbarians who carry arms. It is certain that, considering the circumstances of this exploit, it adds prestige to several others that have been performed; and I even venture to say that it is astonishing, if we consider what occurred in one night, the perils that they went through, the daring of so few soldiers among so many enemies, and, finally, their accomplishing what they did in destroying and burning the villages and their people, without injury to any one of our men. All this causes the Moros who see these occurrences close to them to wonder and fear, and apparently they are talking in earnest of becoming friends and vassals of his Majesty. [*Marginal note*: "For Father Juan Lopez, rector of Cavite."]

[Another letter by Father Paterio, written from Jolo, February 28, 1644, relates the particulars of another expedition by Zepeda into Guimba, six days previous to that date. The native chiefs on the east side of the island are intimidated by the punishment inflicted on Paran, and are inclined to submit to the victorious Spanish arms; but those on the west desire to take revenge for the massacre of their tribesmen. A conference of the latter chiefs is accordingly held at the village of Ulis, where they talk of making an attack on the Spanish forts at Jolo. They invite Suil, one of the friendly chiefs, to join them; but he sends word to the Spaniards (February 9) of the plot against them. Zepeda is then absent in Zamboanga, but returns soon afterward; and another warning from Suil being received ten days later, Zepeda decides to inflict summary punishment

on the plotters. He therefore leads an expedition against the village of Ulis, on February 21, and, as before, attacks the village at daylight. This time, the natives have had warning of the intended assault, and attempt resistance; but they are defeated with considerable loss—among the slain being Ulis, “who was the idol of that island, and whom all obeyed,” and three other chiefs. In this fight the Spaniards lose but four lives—a soldier, an officer, and two servants. This causes even more fear and awe than even the former expedition, and brings the recalcitrants quickly to terms—Suil and other chiefs proposing to leave their homes and go to dwell near the Spanish forts. Later, the Spaniards complete this castigation by ravaging the country, burning and destroying all before them, “by which the Spanish arms have acquired greater reputation and glory than that which they had lost on former adverse occasions.” Then other islands adjacent to Jolo are intimidated, and two battles are fought with their natives, who lose many men therein. As a reward for his services, Zepeda is honored by Corcuera with the governorship of Zamboanga.]

The Joloans remained at peace, as thoroughly chastised as were the Mindanaos, curbing their haughty arrogance, and repressing their hatred in consideration of the advantages of the time. Among the agreements for the peace, they accepted one that a fort for the Spaniards should be erected at their harbor-bar; this was maintained with many difficulties and little advantage, unless from the pearl-fishery, which yielded many and valuable pearls.⁸⁸

⁸⁸ In Sulu roadstead; anchorage is north of the town. In channel between Sulu roadstead and Marongas is a pearl-oyster

The island of Joló abounds in these, so that on the Dutch hydrographical maps they have given it the name "Island of Pearls," on account of the many fine pearls which the Joloans sent in those years to Nueva Batavia by ambassadors from their king, asking their alliance, and aid against the Spaniards. The Dutch granted them protection, those valuable gifts arousing in them greater desires for profit—although afterward the first aid that they furnished the Joloans cost them very dear. But in this year of 1641 the Joloans had a fortunate opportunity for recouping themselves for past expenses, with a mass of amber⁸⁹ as large as an ox's body, which the sea cast up on their shores, which yielded them great profits, and increased the reputation of their island. This sort of find is usually very frequent in those islands, since they are beaten by many currents which flow from the archipelago; and thus goes drifting on the waves what the sea hurls from its abysses, along with other debris, under the fury of the wind—this so precious substance, whether it be the excrement or vomit of whales, or a reaba which the sea produces in its depths. But in Joló it is apt to be more often found, because those islands are scattered and their coasts prolonged for many leguas opposite many currents and channel-mouths. And for this reason

bed, which employs many boats. This is an important industry, pearls and pearl-shells being the chief articles in the export trade of the island. (*U. S. Philippine Gazetteer.*)

⁸⁹ Colin (who was at that time in Joló) says of this (*Labor evangélica*, ed. 1663, p. 49): "There was found near the island of Joló a piece [of amber] which weighed more than eight arrobas, of the best kind that exists, which is the gray [*el gris*]." Retana and Pastells regard Combés's *ambar* as meaning amber, the vegetable fossil; but it is possible that all these writers mean rather ambergris, which is supposed to be a morbid secretion of the sperm whale, and has been used as a perfume.

some amber is usually found in Capul, an island beaten by so many currents—as the ships which come on the return from Nueva España know by experience—and also in Guiguan and on the beaches of Antique. Near Punta de Naso the sea cast up, in the year 1650, an enormous piece of amber, although it had not the fine quality and excellence of that which comes from Japón. (Díaz's *Conquistas*, p. 447.)

[For several years after Corcuera's expedition against the Mindanaos (1637), various military operations were conducted in that island by the Spanish forces, notably under Pedro de Almonte. Corralat and other Moro chiefs were sufficiently reduced to render them nominally peaceful; but they formed various plots and conspiracies against the Spaniards, and, on the other hand, these availed themselves of the jealousies and personal interests of the Mindanao chiefs to separate them and neutralize their efforts. The foolish arrogance of a Spanish officer, Matías de Marmolejo, caused an attack on his detachment by Corralat and Manaquior; all the Spaniards save Marmolejo and six others were slain (June 1, 1642), including the Jesuit Bartolomé Sánchez, and the survivors were captured by Corralat. But when Corcuera heard of this encounter he was so angry that he ordered Marmolejo to be ransomed and afterwards to be beheaded in the plaza at Zamboanga, for disobedience to his orders. He also ordered that the fort at La Sabanilla be demolished, and the men there be sent to punish Corralat, which was done. That chief, to revenge himself, intrigued with the people of Basilan to secure possession of the Spanish fort there; but its little garrison defended it against the Moro fleet until aid could

be sent them from Zamboanga. As soon as Diego Fajardo became governor of the Philippines in Corcuera's place, he endeavored to secure peace in Mindanao, and finally (June 24, 1645) a treaty of peace was signed by Corralat and his leading chiefs, and Francisco de Atienza and the Jesuit Alejandro López. This treaty settled questions of mutual alliance, of boundaries of possessions, of trade, of ransom of captives, and of freedom for the ministrations of Jesuit missionaries. Christian captives in Corralat's domain should be ransomed at the following rates; "for men and women, in the prime of life, and in good health, each forty pesos; for those who were more youthful, thirty pesos; for aged and sick persons, twenty pesos; for children at the breast, ten pesos." In this very year Salicalá, son of the king of Joló, had gone to Batavia to seek aid from the Dutch; the latter sent some armed vessels, which cannonaded the Spanish fort at Joló for three days, but finally were obliged to depart without having accomplished anything. This occurrence increased Fajardo's anxiety in regard to the cost and danger incurred in attempting to maintain three forts in Joló; and he sent orders to Atienza, commandant at Zamboanga, to withdraw the garrisons from Joló and demolish those forts—an embarrassing command, since both Joloans and Dutch were then making raids among the northern islands. Both Fajardo and Atienza relied on the Jesuit Alejandro Lopez to bring about the pacification of both the Mindanaos and the Joloans, a task which he accomplished so successfully that on April 14, 1646, a treaty was signed, by Atienza and Lopez,⁹⁰ with

⁹⁰ It was Lopez who soon afterward, having gone to Manila to report results to Governor Fajardo, secured (largely through

Raya Bongso of Joló (the same who, with his wife Tuambaloca, was conquered by Corcuera's troops in 1638) and the envoys of Corralat. Combés gives the full text of both this and the former treaty. A Dutch fleet attempted to make a landing near Zamboanga, but were repulsed by the Spaniards with much loss. Corralat and Moncay came to hostilities, and the former implored the aid of the Spaniards; Atienza sent an armed force to succor Corralat, and Moncay fled. Salicala of Joló and Panguian Cachilo of Guimba undertook (1648) to raid the Visayan Islands; but the latter was attacked and slain by a Spanish squadron, which so intimidated Salicala that he hastened back to Joló. Meanwhile, a notable event occurred in Mindanao, the conversion of Corralat's military commander, Ugbu, to the Christian faith—which of course tended to strengthen the ties between Corralat and the Spaniards; and Ugbu afterward rendered them efficient service in the Palapag insurrection, which caused his death. Salicala died (1649) and his parents, Bongso and Tuambaloca, were thus able to maintain the peace which they had established with the Spaniards; that queen afterward left Joló, retiring to Basilan. Moncay also died, soon afterward, and was succeeded in Buhayen by Balatamay, a Manobo chief who had married Moncay's daughter; he joined Corralat in alliance with the Spaniards. In January, 1649, Pedro Durán de Monforte went with an armed fleet to northeastern Borneo, to punish its people for aiding

the influence of Venegas, who was very friendly to Lopez) permission for six Jesuits to labor in the islands of the south, the rebuilding of their residence at Zamboanga, and the exemption of the Lutaos from tribute, and the appointment of Rafael Omen de Azevedo as governor. (Murillo Velarde, *Hist. de Philipinas*, fol. 151 b.)

the Joloans in their raids; the Spaniards plundered several villages, burned three hundred caracoas, and carried away two hundred captives. The expedition was accompanied by Jesuits, who afterward opened successful missions in Borneo. The insurrection of 1649-50 spread to Joló and Mindanao, but was quelled by the Spaniards (see VOL. XXXVIII). (Combés, *Hist. Mindanao*, col. 269-348, 425-498; Murillo Velarde, *Hist. de Philipinas*, fol. 149-153. Cf. Concepción, *Hist. de Philipinas*, vi, pp. 205-281; Montero y Vidal, *Hist. piratería*, i, pp. 182-189, 212-231.)]

[In 1653 Don Sabiniano Manrique de Lara succeeded to the government of the Philippines.] One of his first undertakings was to establish peace with the ruler of Mindanao, Cachil Corralat, whom it was expedient to assure for the sake of the tranquillity of the Pintados Islands – which were more exposed than the others to the incursions of their armed fleets, since Manila had not enough soldiers and vessels with which our people could go forth to hinder the operations of the Moros. The governor sent as his ambassador Captain Don Diego de Lemus, and Father Francisco Lado of the Society of Jesus, who were very kindly received by the Moros; and he gave them to understand that no one desired peace more than he did, since the warning was still fresh that had been given him by the war which was waged against him by Governor Don Sebastian Hurtado de Corcuera in person – which had obliged Corralat to wander as a fugitive through the lands of his enemy the king of Buhayen, exposed to many perils. It seems as if the desire which Corralat showed to maintain the peace might be regarded as

sincere; for if he had chosen to avail himself of the opportunity afforded by the past years, when all our forces and power were fully occupied in resisting the cruel invasions of the Dutch, without doubt he could have made great ravages in the villages of the Pintados Islands; and therefore this must be attributed to an especial providence of the divine mercy. All [these dealings with the envoys] were cunning measures of the shrewd Moro to lull⁹¹ our vigilance with feigned appearances of peace, for never was he further from pursuing it—partly through greed for the booty of slaves, a great part of which belonged to him; partly because his captains and other persons interested in these piratical raids persuaded him to avail himself of the opportunity furnished by the weakness of our forces. Corralat determined to renew his former hostile acts, and began by preparing vessels and supplies; and in order to cover up better his damnable intention, he sent to the governor of Manila an ambassador to confirm the peace. This man was called Banua, and was no less fraudulent than Simon the Greek. On the route he left many tokens of this; for in the village of Tunganan, among the Subanos, he treated very contemptuously⁹² the father minister, Miguel Pareja of the Society of Jesus—who, as the pious religious that he was, turned the other cheek, as the gospel commands. Banua arrived at Manila in the year of 1655, where he discharged very well his office as ambassador, and even better that of spy—and

⁹¹ In the text, *desvelar*, “to keep awake”—but from the context, apparently an error of some sort.

⁹² Spanish, *dió una bofetada*, literally, “gave a blow in the face”—in the Spanish a play on words which it is difficult to retain in English.

well he knew his double trade; for among other things he demanded that restitution be made to Corralat of some Mindanao slaves, and of the pieces of artillery which Don Sebastian Hurtado de Corcuera had taken from him in war; but this and other petitions of the ambassador had no satisfactory issue. Banua returned [to Mindanao], and Don Sabiniano Manrique de Lara despatched to accompany him Captain Don Claudio de Rivera, and Father Alejandro Lopez of the Society of Jesus, who went with holy zeal for establishing in Mindanao the preaching of the true faith. They arrived at Zamboanga, where they had sufficient warnings of the danger to which they were going; but with fearless courage they continued their journey until they reached Corralat. He received them without any of the ostentation usual for an embassy, but rather with frowns and displeasure; and when he read the letters from the governor of Manila – which were excellent for an occasion in which our strength might be greater, but the present time demanded shrewder dissimulation – the Moro king was much disturbed, and displayed extreme anger. The end of this embassy (of which an excellent account is given by Father Francisco Combés in his *Historia de Mindanao*, book viii, chap. 3) was that Corralat ordered his nephew Balatamay to slay Father Alejandro Lopez and his associate, Father Juan de Montiel, and Captain Claudio de Rivera.⁹³ Corralat sent the letters of the governor to the kings of Joló and of Ternate, to incite them to make common cause in defense of their profession as Mahometans, but they did not choose to

⁹³ This order was carried out by Balatamay, on December 13, 1655. See Combés's detailed account of this tragedy, as cited by Diaz.

risk breaking the peace; on the contrary, the king of Ternate handed over the letters to the governor of our forts there, Francisco de Esteybar, who restored them to the governor of Manila. (Diaz, *Conquistas*, pp. 549-551.)

Corralat, fearing the vengeance of the Spaniards, wrote to the governor of Zamboanga throwing the responsibility for what had occurred on his nephew Balatamay, whom he could not chastise on account of the latter being so powerful. He also wrote to Manrique de Lara, attributing the deaths of the Jesuits and other Spaniards to imprudent acts committed by Father López, and entreated the governor that, mutually forgiving injuries, affairs might remain as they had previously been. But his complicity in the event came to be discovered, through another letter directed in June, 1656, to the sultan of Joló, exhorting the latter to unite with him for defending the religion which both professed. The Joloan monarch sent his letter to the governor of Zamboanga in order to demonstrate his loyalty. Similar assistance was solicited by Corralat from the Dutch and from the sovereigns of Macasar and Ternate; and to the latter, in order to stimulate him more, he sent the original letter of Manrique de Lara, presenting the question under the religious aspect only – a letter which the Spanish governor of Ternate was able to recover, and he sent it to its author. The captain-general of Filipinas, not considering his forces sufficient for waging war on the powerful sultan of Mindanao, notified the governor of Zamboanga⁹⁴ to accept Corralat's excuses as suf-

⁹⁴ Pedro Durán de Monforte; his term of office began in 1649, and lasted until Esteybar's arrival at Zamboanga (Dec. 2, 1656).

ficient until he could ascertain whether reënforcements were arriving from Nueva España and they could avenge so many injuries.

The sultan, seeing that his insolent conduct did not receive the energetic and effectual punishment that it deserved, gained new courage, and sent out his people to make raids through the coasts of Zamboanga and Basilan – terminating the campaign by looting Tanganan, where they took captive the headman of that village, named Ampí, and twenty-three persons besides. In the Calamianes Islands also the Mindanaos committed horrible ravages. The governor of the Moluccas, Don Francisco de Esteybar, received orders to go to Zamboanga, conferring upon him, besides the command of the said post, the office of governor and captain-general of all the southern provinces of Filipinas. On the second of December of the said year 1656 he arrived at Zamboanga. When this valiant chief was informed of what had occurred, and learned that the pirates were equipping at Simuay [River] a squadron to invade the Visayas, he declared war on Corralat, without stopping to consider whether his forces were inferior or not to those of the enemy, trusting to the courage of his followers and the justice of his cause for the issue of the undertaking. In this document he ordered that ten caracoas should set out, under command of Don Fernando de Bobadilla; and these vessels went to sea on December 30. This commander detached Admiral Don Pedro de Viruega at the village of Sosocon, and Sargento-mayor Don Félix de Herrera at Point Taguima. Through his spies, Corralat knew of the departure of the squadron, and declined to send his boats against the Spanish armada; and

during twenty days Bobadilla waited in vain for the pirate vessels. During this time the dato of Sibuguey, Mintun, went to Zamboanga, offering the aid of his people against Corralat, perhaps in order not to be the leader in paying for the losses of the war. It was reported that the sultan had sent four vessels to the village of that chief for rice, and Bobadilla set out to intercept this convoy (January 2, 1657). On arriving at La Silanga,⁹⁵ two small caracoas went ahead to reconnoiter the place; these boats conquered a large vessel; but their crews intimidated the Lutaos who were in the Spanish ship, telling them that they would soon be destroyed by Corralat, who was expected in Mintun with fifteen vessels. As the Lutaos of Bobadilla's squadron were inclined toward the sultan, or were afraid of falling into his power, they threatened the commandant that they would abandon the field when the battle was at its height, if the Spaniards compelled them to fight against Corralat. In view of this, Bobadilla was obliged to return to Zamboanga, losing so propitious an opportunity to avenge the wicked perfidy of the old sultan. Nevertheless, he seized a considerable number of small boats, full of rice, and forty captives. The sultan, now a declared enemy, and attributing to our weakness the failure to punish the murder of the ambassadors, commanded his squadrons to commit piracies, under the command of Prince Balatamay. That deceitful Moro, after committing the most outrageous acts of violence in Marinduque and Mindoro, returned to Mindanao with a multitude of captives and very rich spoils.

⁹⁵ "La Silanga, which is a strait that is formed by the island of Tulaya with the land of Mindanao" (Diaz, p. 561). Retana and Pastells, in their edition of *Combés*, make Tulaya the modern Tulayan, near Sulu — an evident error, from Diaz's statement.

While Balatamay was raiding the above-mentioned islands, a splendid squadron sailed from Cavite by order of the governor-general, in command of an officer whose name is not told in the histories, from whom brilliant conduct was expected, to judge from the valor of which he boasted in drawing-rooms; but, far from fulfilling his duty, he lingered in Balayan under pretext of securing supplies of rice, and then in Mindoro, carrying out his cowardly purpose of not encountering the Moros, notwithstanding that the forces under his command were more than sufficient to destroy the pirates. To the end that he might operate in conjunction with the said squadron, Esteybar ordered Alférez Luis de Vargas to scour the coasts of Mindanao; but as the commander of the squadron failed to carry out the instructions that he had received, Vargas, as he could not find him, confined his efforts to burning a village on the bay of Simuay, where he seized several captives. Bobadilla reduced to ashes the old capital of Corralat, Lमित्तान, its inhabitants having fled to the woods. Also in the said year of 1657 the dato Salicala of Mindanao scoured the seas with his squadron; the natives in consternation abandoned their villages without daring to resist him, and he carried away as captives more than a thousand Indians – his audacity going so far that he sailed into the bay of Manila.

Esteybar then equipped a small squadron of caracoas and vintas, which departed from Zamboanga on January 1, 1658, resolved to chastise the pirates severely. He spread the report that they were going to Sibuguey. He reached that river in seven days, and, placing part of his forces in charge of Sargento-mayor Itamarren, he destroyed the village of Namuncan, and at Luraya burned many boats. Four pilans

captured the joanga which had carried Father López to Simuay, manned by Moros from Mintun. Suddenly changing his course, he took the route to Punta de Flechas, in order to go to the capital of Corralat, but sent beforehand thirty Spaniards, with Captain Don Pedro de Viruega, to the district of Butig. Its chief Matundin, at the head of five hundred men, was defeated, the grain-fields ravaged, and the village reduced to ashes. The tilled land of this district was exceedingly rich, since it is the principal source of supply for rice in Mindanao. Great damage was also done in La Sabanilla by Captain Don Juan González Carlete. On the nineteenth of January the squadron encountered a large Dutch ship surrounded by some pirate vessels. Esteybar attempted to secure a free passage without bringing on a contest, to which end he hoisted a white flag; but the commander of the Dutch ship displayed a red flag, firing all his cannon against the Spanish vessels. Then, without heeding the superiority of the enemy, Bobadilla came against the ship, all his men rowing as hard as they could; and Esteybar attacked it at the stern. The Spaniards then were going to board the ship with a rush, when a ball fired from the vessel of Esteybar set on fire the Santa Barbara [*i.e.*, powder-magazine] of the Dutch ship, thus blowing it into pieces. Only twenty-four of its crew survived, and these were drawn out of the sea and made prisoners. Esteybar continued his voyage to Simuay, the bar of which was fortified with heavy stockades; moreover, at its ends were two forts, garrisoned by Malays, Macassars, and Dutchmen. This did not frighten Esteybar, and he made preparations to capture the posts of the enemy, in spite of advice

to the contrary from his captains. While he was deciding the best method of accomplishing this, he passed with his squadron to the river of Buhayen, sending in by one of its entrances the valiant Bobadilla with some vessels, and by the other Sargento-mayor Itamarren. The former sacked the villages and ravaged the grain-fields of Tannil and Tabiran, the latter those of Lumapuc and Buhayen; they destroyed a powerful armada which had been prepared for raiding the islands, and carried away as spoil many versos, muskets, campilans, crises, and all kinds of weapons.

In the village of Buhayen resided Prince Hamo, son of Moncay, from whom the kingdom had been usurped; he mounted a white flag and a cross above his house, being desirous of forming an alliance with the Spaniards, but they, being warned by experience with the treasons of the Moros, continued the hostilities, without attaching any importance to that signal. While they constructed rafts with which to attack the fortress of Corralat, Captain Antonio de Palacios went to destroy the village of Tampacan and its environs; and Adjutant Antonio Vázquez disembarked with orders to cut off the retreat of the enemy's spies. These were twenty in number, thoroughly armed; Vázquez rushed upon them, and at the first encounter killed five and wounded six of them, and the rest were shot to death in the woods. Esteybar returned to the bar of Buhayen; he knew that at a day's journey from there was a village of Lutaos, called Maolo, and, desirous to chastise that settlement and obtain information about that coast, he sent Sargento-mayor Itamarren—who, finding it deserted, set fire to the village, killed four Moros,

and captured two others, the only ones who waited for the attack.

Notwithstanding these provocations, and others that were directly offered to Corralat in the environs of his fortifications, it was impossible to draw him out into the open country. Having constructed a number of rafts, on which were placed pieces of artillery, the governor went aboard the largest of them, and with the aid of the vessels cannonaded the fort of Corralat for the space of four hours, but he defended it well. It was evident that the difficulties of assaulting it were insuperable, and that the artillery was operating with but little result, on account of the condition of the sea; accordingly it was decided to retire to the bar of Buhayen. The squadron went to La Sabanilla on the seventeenth of February; here Esteybar received orders to return to Molucas, and he proceeded to Zamboanga. Notwithstanding the well-known valor of this chief, and the injuries inflicted on the Moros during the two months of the campaign, this retreat gave much satisfaction to Corralat, since it freed him from [the danger of] going as a wanderer through the hills, as on previous occasions.

The valiant Esteybar had been replaced as governor of the military post of Zamboanga by Don Fernando de Bobadilla – a chief no less courageous and resolute – with the same titles and preëminences as the former. Corralat, in order better to secure his dominions against the aggressions of the Spaniards, made Namu, king of Buhayen, establish a fort at the mouth of the river, the opposite shore of which was likewise fortified by Corralat; he entrusted to Matundin the defense of the bar of Simuay, and to the Basilan chiefs Ondol and Boto the construction of a

fortification at the entrance of the estuary of Zamboanga. Don Diego Zarria Lazcano took the place of Bobadilla, the former remaining at the head of the armada.

The datos Linao and Libot of Joló, and Sacahati of Tawi-Tawi, with thirteen vessels, scoured the coasts of Bohol, Leyte, and Masbate. Near Luban they put to death father Fray Antonio de San Agustín, who on account of his ailments could not retreat to the interior of that island as did the rest who were going with him in their vessel. A squadron sailed from Manila in command of Don Pedro Durán de Monforte; they went to Luban, Mindoro, Panay, and Gigantes without discovering the pirates, and returned to the capital. The Moros were able to return to Joló with many spoils and eighty captives; but the sultan of that island sent back the said captives, in order to prove that he desired peace with the Spaniards. (Montero y Vidal, *Hist. piratería*, i, pp. 236-244. Cf. Combés, *Hist. Mindanao*, col. 533-549, 570-587.)

Great were the calamities suffered by the Filipinas Islands in these years of 1657 and 58, which might have occasioned their entire ruin, if divine Providence had not manifestly preserved them, at the expense of miracles and prodigies. Even the arrogance of the Dutch recognized this, when they saw their proud forces humiliated by the unequal strength of ours; and it was acknowledged by the inhabitants of these islands, recognizing the divine clemency. In the former of those years the scourge of divine justice was the great armada of Mindanao corsairs, which, commanded by Salicala, a Moro of much valor, inflicted the Pintados Islands; and their insolence went

so far that they came in sight of the great bay of Manila. The poor natives who groaned under the yoke of captivity to these pirates amounted to more than a thousand; and as it was impossible for most of them to furnish ransom for their persons, they usually died as slaves of the Moros. I have not been able to learn the reason why no assistance was given to deliver them by going out to find those pirates – although I do not believe that it was the absence of compassion in Governor Don Sabiniano Manrique de Lara, but rather his lack of means, and his being engrossed with more pressing affairs. This was followed by the plagues of innumerable locusts, which, laying waste the fields, made general havoc, occasioning the famine which was the worst enemy of the poor; this was followed by its inseparable companion, pestilence, which made great ravages with a general epidemic of smallpox. (Diaz, *Conquistas*, p. 556.)

General Don Agustín de Cepeda went to Zamboanga as governor (June 16, 1659), without any events worthy of mention occurring during the time while he exercised that office; afterward he went to assume the government of Molucas. He who took his place⁹⁶ experienced great annoyances with the Jesuits, who in their histories relate in great detail how much he tried to injure their interests; but Don Fernando Bobadilla was again charged with the government of Zamboanga (February 15, 1662).

The authorities and citizens of Manila were the victims in May, 1662, of a fearful panic, on account of the claim by the powerful Chinese pirate Kue-

⁹⁶ Referring to the governor *ad interim* from November, 1661 to February, 1662; Combés describes at length his "persecution" of the Jesuits at Zamboanga (col. 591-609), but does not mention his name.

Sing that the little realm of Filipinas should render him homage and be declared his tributary, under penalty of his going with his squadrons to destroy the Spaniards—as he had done with the Dutch, expelling them from Formosa. This embassy, which was brought to Manila by the Dominican father Fray Victorio Ricci, and the consequent indignation against the Chinese, were the origin of an insurrection by those who resided in Manila, which was subdued; and the conference of authorities resolved to expel them from the country and repel by force of arms the aggression of Kue-Sing—the governor-general making ready great armaments, and whatever preparations for defense seemed to him necessary that he might come out victorious from the tremendous danger that threatened the island.

But the most important and most far-reaching of the measures adopted by the council at which Manrique de Lara presided was the abandonment of the advantageous post of Zamboanga—the advanced sentinel of our domination over the coasts inhabited by the fierce Malay Mahometans—and those of La Sabanilla, Calamianes, and Iligan (which were also important in the highest degree), with the intention of concentrating in Manila all the forces which garrisoned those posts (May 6). This notification caused, among the Spanish subjects of those lands, or it may be among the Lutaos, profound sorrow and the utmost fear. They complained bitterly of the unprotected state in which they were left, remaining exposed to the vengeance of the Moros—who no longer could consider them as belonging to their race, and bore a mortal hatred to them for having

become Christians.⁹⁷ These just complaints, and the knowledge of the damages which would result from the withdrawal of the Spanish forces, impelled the governor of the fort, Don Fernando Bobadilla, and the learned Father Combés to entreat the governor-general to revoke his mandate, both explaining to him the very cogent and strong reasons which prompted their advice. The news that the Spaniards were involved in so tremendous a conflict encouraged

⁹⁷ "Hardly had Morales reached the islands, when a new despatch arrived from Manila, repeating the same orders. The silence of the Spaniards [*i.e.*, regarding their first order to leave the fort], and the hurried preparations that were made that very night for the withdrawal of Morales, inflamed the injured feelings of the Lutaos, nor could any argument repress them. The governor did not attempt to do more than console them, in order that they might prudently decide what they should do; he told them that the Spaniards would never forsake them, and that if the Lutaos would follow them there were places in the islands, with equal and even greater advantages, where they could live; that Corralat was friendly, and the Spaniards would charge him to maintain friendly relations with them, which they could with good reason expect, as he was of the same nation as themselves; that if he should not fulfil this obligation, occasion would not fail the Spaniards to avenge them. He also said that they could, with the forts which he left to them, easily defend themselves from their enemies; and finally, that they should await the ultimate decision which would be brought by General Don Francisco de Atienza on his way to Maluco, since it might improve the condition of affairs.

"Little impression did these arguments, which the Spaniards offered by way of consolation, make on the Lutaos. The tyrannies that they would experience when left to their own government had no respect for kinship, nor was there any law save that of might. To leave their homes was most difficult, and to transplant their villages was to ruin them. To defend the fort supplies of ammunition and food were required, and they had no fund to meet these costs. They gave way to lamentations and complaints that, as they had served the Spaniards with their lives, they had roused in their neighbors a mortal hatred; that, notwithstanding they had become Christians, they were left abandoned, in the power of the Moros, without instruction, or defense, or honor. They recounted their services, and their sighs grew heavier, while they declared as false the promises made to them

the Joloans to repeat once more their terrible incursions. The datos of Joló, Tawi-Tawi, Lacay-Lacay, and Tuptup, equipped sixty vessels, and, dividing their forces into several small squadrons, sacked and burned the villages of Poro, Baybay, Sogor, Cabalian, Basey, Dangajon, Guinobatan, and Capul. They killed Captain Gabriel de la Peña; they captured an official of the same class, Ignacio de la Cueva, and the Jesuit father Buenaventura Barcena; they went even to the mountains in pursuit of the religious; and all the Indians whom they caught they carried away as captives to their own country, killing many of all ages and classes.

The governor-general of the islands sent a squadron to pursue the pirates, but they accomplished

in the beginning, which drew them away from obedience to their natural king; and that with such an example [as this of the Lutaos before them] the peoples [of Mindanao] would not change sides in order to please a nation so unreliable [as the Spaniards]. The Subanos also presented their piteous remonstrances that as a people of the hill-country, and of timid disposition, they were exposed to greater misfortunes. They went to the fort and renewed their importunities, saying that the Spaniards were deserting and abandoning them [notwithstanding] their humble submission, and leaving them to be slaves of their enemies; that although they had maintained the Spaniards with their tributes, provided their houses with their products, and embraced their faith, contented with the freedom which followed Spanish protection, yet now their liberty remained at the mercy of greed, the Spaniards profiting by their lives for the sake of keeping up intercourse with the Macassars and Malayos; and that it was too much to be endured, to leave in such infamous subjection vassals so obedient as they. The governor, his heart pierced by their pathetic expostulations, could give no other satisfaction than his own anxious hopes. In the midst of these limited and sad consolations, with the arrival of the succors for Terrenate came anew the severe orders [for abandoning the forts]; the governor was now unable to give them courage, for lack of means, and all were disconsolate; but it was necessary to execute the rigorous order — those who remained being as sorrowful at it as were those who were going away, and each one endeavoring to make his

nothing. From Zamboanga Adjutant Francisco Alvarez went out alone to encounter them; he captured the caracoa of the pirate Gani, a relative of Salé, and of thirty captives whom the latter was carrying away. Alvarez freed twenty-two – afterward going to an island of Joló, where he captured twelve Moros. Bobadilla, in answer to his message, on November 8 received pressing orders to return to Manila without loss of time, the governor yielding so far as to allow that he might leave in the fortress of Zamboanga at most fifty Spaniards. This was equivalent to condemning those unfortunates to a sure death, and the Jesuit fathers protested against it, saying that necessarily they would incur the same fate; but finally the supreme authority of the islands decided upon the total abandonment of the posts decision and to suit it to this emergency. Some went to Mindanao, others to Joló, and others to Basilan; many dispersed in the coasts of Zamboangan, the people of Don Alonso Macombon remaining here with him; and a few determined to follow the fortunes of those who retreated thence, going to settle at Dapitan and Zebù. . . . In the vessels had to be placed more than a thousand souls, and the military supplies. It was a grievous abandonment, by which more than a thousand Christians were left exposed to the cruelty of the Moros. . . . In great part it was due to the obstinacy of the Jesuits, who, regarding the allowance of fifty men as insufficient, compelled its total abandonment. Such garrisons have been and are sufficient to oppose the Moros in the remaining presidios; and the same would be enough in Zamboangan if the great extent which must be guarded, on account of the size of the fort, were reduced to a little, demolishing the less important part [of the fortifications]. But their profound thoughts feared lest that fort would afterward remain thus scantily garrisoned, and that it would not make so much show or its administration be so conspicuous; nor would there be expended in the allowances [for it] so large sums, which they converted to their own advantage. . . . Soon there were representations made at the court of injury resulting from its desertion, and consequent royal decrees for its reconstruction, which did not take effect until long afterward.” (Concepción, *Hist. de Philipinas*, vii, pp. 93-97.)

above mentioned. Nevertheless Bobadilla, with the object of encouraging the Lutaos and leading the Moros to believe that he was not abandoning the post, sent in pursuit of them Don Juan de Morales Valenzuela, with two caracoas, to the islands called "Orejas de Liebre," on January 2, 1663; but on the fourth of the same month he received a new and more positive order from the captain-general, dated October 11, that without delay or any excuse he must abandon Zamboanga. At sight of this, Bobadilla warned Morales that the withdrawal must be made, as was done on the seventh—as promptly as possible fulfilling the said imperious mandate, convinced that it was now altogether impossible to oppose so plain a decision.

The governor of Zamboanga made a solemn surrender of the fort to the master-of-camp of the Lutaos natives, Don Alonso Macombon, receiving from him an oath of fidelity to hold it for the king of España and defend it from his enemies; but Don Alonso refused to include among these the sultan of Mindanao, on the pretext that he had not sufficient strength to oppose the dreaded Corralat. The governor, fearing his defection, did not leave him any artillery. The Jesuits also surrendered to Macombon their houses and churches, carrying away the images, ornaments, chalices, and books; and six thousand Christians remained in Zamboanga exposed to the rage of the Mahometans. Some Lutaos, although not many, decided to go to the province of Cebú, or to that of Dapitan; others scattered through Joló or Mindanao in search of safety, returning to their former religion.

The abandonment of our military posts in Min-

danao was, although it is excused by the embarrassed condition of the capital of the islands, an exceedingly imprudent measure, since, in order to provide for an uncertain danger, the Visayan Islands were left exposed to another which was more immediate and real – to say nothing of the retrogression that must necessarily result to our domination among the natives of Mindanao, where at that time over seventy thousand Christians lived. The pirate who could cause such a panic in the authorities of Manila, and occasioned so great losses to the undertaking of subduing the Mahometan Malay pirates, died without carrying out his threats.

During the government of Don Juan de Vargas (1679), the sultan of Borneo sent an embassy to ask that mercantile dealings might be established with Filipinas; and Vargas in his turn sent another and a very distinguished one, headed by Sargento-mayor Don Juan Morales de Valenzuela. In 1701 occurred in the south of Filipinas an event as tragic as unusual. The sultan of Joló went to visit the ruler of Mindanao, for greater ostentation taking with him as escort a squadron composed of sixty-seven vessels. At sight of such a retinue the sultan of Mindanao, Cutay⁹⁸ (the successor of the noted Corralat), feared that the other had designs that were not peaceable, and commanded that the mouth of the river should be closed; but the sultan of Joló, offended thereat, dared the other to a personal combat. This challenge was accepted, and the two sultans engaged in a hand-to-hand contest, so fierce that each slew the other; and immediately war was kindled between the two peoples. The Joloans, breaking down the stakes which closed the

⁹⁸ This name is Curay in Concepción's *Historia*.

river, retired to their own island with many weapons and spoils. The new ruler of Mindanao asked aid from the governor of Manila, Don Domingo Zubáburu; but the latter advised that they should lay aside their dissensions, and for that purpose sent the Jesuit Father Antonio de Borja, who was able to attain his object. (Montero y Vidal, *Hist. piratería*, i, pp. 244-252. Cf. Combés, *Hist. Mindanao*, col. 610-640.)

The king of Joló, on the contrary, had for many years maintained peace and friendly relations with the Spaniards, much to the resentment of his chiefs and captains, who derived much more profit from hostile raids than from trade and peace; therefore by means of their confidential agents they spread the report that the king of Joló was talking of sending an armed fleet of twenty joangas to plunder these islands. The principal author of this was a Joloan named Linao, who was on intimate terms with the Spaniards, and a Guimbano named Palía. But the king of Joló was very far from thinking of such changes, and it would have been better for us if we had not so readily believed it. At this information Don Fernando de Bobadilla despatched his armada against Joló, under General Don Pedro de Viruega; but when he reached that island he found that the story that they had spread abroad against the king was false, and Don Pedro, having talked with him, went back to Zamboanga well satisfied of his peaceable attitude. But it was not long before the former rumors against the king of Joló were again current; the author of them was Linao, who desired a rupture [with the Spaniards], so that he with other pirates might go out on raids against these islands – in which enterprise he was more interested than in the peace of

his king. This plan he carried out in company with two others, Libot and Sacahati, who went cruising with several vessels and did much damage in the islands of Pintados and Masbate, until they reached the Limbones;⁹⁹ from that place they chased the corregidor of Mariveles, and captured the provincial of our discalced Augustinian religious and those who were accompanying him, on his return from visiting the Christian villages of Bolinao – although these persons escaped by jumping ashore. But there was one who could not do this, father Fray Antonio de las Misas (also a discalced Augustinian), who was coming from Cuyo and Calamianes to visit those convents. This religious might with good reason be regarded as a martyr; for with his blood only were the hands of the renegade Linao stained, as he spared the lives of all the rest in his greed for ransom. Although the pirates knew that the ransom of this religious promised them more profit [than that of an ordinary captive], their hatred to the faith prevailed over their greed, which in these barbarians is great. This opinion is confirmed by the cruelty with which they treated an image of Our Lady of the People, which this religious was wearing, on which they used their crises with furious rage. This religious was an old man, and greatly esteemed for his virtue; and in the order he had held positions of honor – prior of the convent at Manila, vicar-provincial of Cebú, and other posts in Caraga. He had a brother, a lay member of the Society of Jesus in these islands, who also suffered the same kind of death at the hands of the barbarous pirates called Camucones – a nation

⁹⁹ An island and point at the entrance to Patungan Bay, in Batangas, Luzón.

as cruel as cowardly, two qualities which always go together.

Great was the injury which these pirates inflicted on the islands, and although the *alcalde-mayor* of Balayan went out against them with some armed vessels they could not be found, either by him or by some other vessels which went from Manila for this purpose with a considerable force of men, on account of the adroitness with which the Moros concealed themselves, avoiding an encounter—to such an extent that the belief was current in Manila that these were not outside enemies, but insurgent Indians of the country, until a Spaniard who had been seized by the enemy at the shoals of Mindoro made his escape from them, and his account undeceived the people of Manila. The governor despatched an armed fleet in command of Admiral Pedro Durán de Monforte, a soldier of long experience, but this remedy came too late; for the pirates, satiated with burning villages, plundering, and taking captives, had returned to their own country. Accordingly the armada, having vainly scouted along Lubán, Mindoro, and Panay, returned to Manila, having accomplished nothing save the expenses which were caused for the royal exchequer, which is the paymaster for these and other cases of negligence.

The distrust which was felt regarding the maintenance of the peace by the king of Joló perhaps occasioned anger that he had not prevented these injuries; but he, knowing that if he did not make amends it would be a cause for justifiable hostilities, sent an embassy to the governor (who was Don Diego Sarria Lazcano), exonerating himself and promising to chastise Linao, Libot, and Sacahati;

this he did, and many captives were restored, which was no slight [amends]. King Corralat raised his false alarms, as he was wont to do when that suited him, and also made some trifling raids through the agency of the people of Sibuguey, and threatened the Zebuans at Dapitán. But all became quiet when the office of governor of those coasts was assumed (June 16, 1659) by Don Agustín de Cepeda, a great soldier – who died in decrepit old age as master-of-camp of these Filipinas. Corralat knew, much to his sorrow, the valor of this able officer, and therefore did not dare to anger him, content that the Spaniards should leave him in peace. Don Agustín, as a prudent man, determined to try measures to secure peace; and, conferences having been held, those measures were carried out, with very advantageous arrangements for our forces.

The frequent raids of these Moro pirates, both Mindanaos and Joloans, were one of the greatest hardships which these Filipinas Islands suffered through many continuous years; they were the scourge of the natives of the islands of Pintados and Camarines, Tayabas, and Mindoro, as being nearest to the danger and most weak for defense. These people paid with their beloved liberty for our neglect to defend them – not always deserving of blame, on account of the mutations of the times. Few Spaniards have been the prey of these vile thieves, except some who were very incautious; but amends have been made for these by many religious and some secular priests, ministers in the Indian villages, who have suffered rigorous captivities and cruel deaths. No small amount of expenditure has fallen on the royal exchequer; for those pirates have caused in-

numerable expenses in armed fleets, most of them useless because the news of the loss did not reach us until the pirates were returning unhurt to their own lands. At times it has given even the governors and captains-general of these islands plenty to do in defending them from these pilfering thieves, as we saw in the first part of this history, in the case of Don Sebastián Hurtado de Corcuera and others. All the life of Cachil Corralat – which was a very long one, for it exceeded ninety years – and that of his father Bahisan kept our vigilance continually on the alert, and caused us to found and maintain the fortified posts of Zamboanga, Sabanilla, Malanao, and others – which caused so much expense and no profits; for the forts defend only a small space, and the sea has many roads, and thus they did not hinder the Moro fleets from sallying forth whenever they chose. Moreover, Corralat had all the Lutaos for spies, on account of their great reverence for him, and because they were in secret as much Mahometans as himself; for never is a Lutao found who has not been circumcised, or one who eats pork – and it is this which constitutes their Mahometanism, as also having many wives and being enemies of Christians; for in other respects they are atheists, and do not know what the Koran is or what it contains. And, as I have heard from military men who have experience in these wars, the only restraint upon these Joloan and Mindanao enemies is in armed fleets, which go to search for them in their homes and inflict on them all the damage they can, without going inland; for the Spaniards will not find any one there on whom to avenge themselves, since the inhabitants are safe in their thick forests and on impregnable heights.

After so many years of misfortunes the divine mercy took pity on these poor natives, on whom the cruelty and greed of the Moros had so long fattened, selecting as an agent the very Corralat who had been the cause of the past havoc. With old age and experience he came to see the injury which was resulting to his people (and most of all to the kings of Mindanao) from having enemies so valiant as the Spaniards had proved to be; and therefore while he lived he maintained peace with Manila, with friendly relations and the benefit of commerce on both sides. And when his death arrived, which was at the end of the year 1671, he left his nephew and heir, Balatamay, strictly charged to keep the peace, with heavy curses and imprecations, according to their custom; and his people obeyed him so well that for a long time no raid was heard of; nor was there any by the Camucones, who are subject to Borney. The king of Joló, Paguián, has preserved the same peace and friendship; for all the Moro tribes of these regions revered Corralat as if he were Mahoma himself. For he was a Moro of great courage, intelligence, and sagacity, besides being exceedingly zealous for his accursed sect, and a great sorcerer—for all of which he probably has met condign punishment. (Diaz, *Conquistas*, pp. 564-567.)

The governor [*i.e.*, Manuel de León, in 1674] commanded Juan Canosa Raguses, a skilful builder of lateen-rigged vessels, to construct two galleys; these sailed very straight and light, and did good service in frightening away the Camucones, pilfering and troublesome pirates, who in most years infested the Pintados Islands with pillaging and seizure of captives. These are a barbarous, cruel, and cow-

ardly people, and they cannot have one of these traits without the others. They inhabit a chain of small islands, which extend from Paragua to Borneo; some of them are Mahometans and others heathens. They have done much harm to the islands of Bisayas, which they ravaged quite at their ease – so much so that in the year 1672 they carried away the alcaide-mayor, Don José de San Miguel, as we have mentioned elsewhere. They have a great advantage in the extreme swiftness of their vessels, which enables them to find their defense in flight. Their confidence and boldness went so far that they ventured to infest the coasts of Manila. The provincial, Fray José Duque, while going to visit the convents in the islands of Pintados, came very near being captured with his companion, Fray Alvaro de Benavente; for they were attacked by a squadron of these pirates near the island of Marinduque, where they would have been a prey to Moro cruelty, if they had not been favored by the divine kindness. [This acted] through the agency of Captain Francisco Ponce, a veteran soldier, who killed the captain and another of the pirates; and also of a sudden wind, which gave wings to the champan for placing itself in safety. With the building of these galleys the Camucones were inspired with such terror that for many years they did not venture to sally out for their usual raids, so much in safety as before. The first time, Sargento-mayor Pedro Lozano went out to scour the seas through which the Camucones might come to make their raids. In the following year, Captain Don José de Novoa went out – a brave Galician, the encomendero of Gapang – and as commander of the second galley Captain Simón de Torres, an able soldier from Maluco; and they

scoured the coasts of Mindanao, committing some acts of hostility, their sole object therein being to cause more terror than harm. And thus it was, that with the fear which those piratical tribes had conceived of the galleys neither Joloans, Mindanaos, nor Camucones dared, so long as these lasted, to commit their former ravages. The same thing occurs whenever there are galleys, even though they do not go out to sea and are shut up in the port of Cavite. It is therefore very expedient to keep vessels of this sort, in order to be free from the invasions of those pirates. In view of this, Governor Don Domingo de Zabáburu built two other galleys, which was the cause of the Joloans, Mindanaos, and Camucones remaining, throughout his term of office, within their own boundaries, although they had been in previous years, as we have seen, a continual plague to these islands. (Diaz, *Conquistas*, p. 711.)¹⁰⁰

¹⁰⁰ It is evident, from the above statements by Diaz, that Barrantes is incorrect in saying (*Guerras piráticas*, p. 17): "In this manner, so melancholy for Filipinas, ended the seventeenth century." He has made this hasty and unfounded conclusion through failure to search for material to supply the gap which occurs at this point in the narrative which he has used as the basis of the work above cited. This is a MS. narrative of the Moro wars, for an account of which see our VOL. XXIX, p. 174, note 40.

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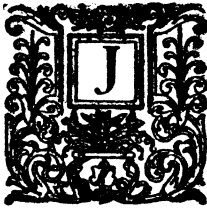
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